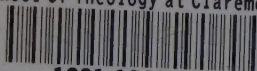


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THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE WORLD

SIR ARTHUR HIRTZEL, K.C.B.

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Theology

THE CHURCH, THE EMPIRE, AND THE WORLD

ADDRESSES ON THE WORK OF THE
CHURCH ABROAD

Missions

BY
SIR ARTHUR HIRTZEL, K.C.B.
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LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1919

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"Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold; all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. As I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth."

PREFACE.

THESE addresses deal mainly with certain aspects of the foreign work of the Church. But the life and work of the Church cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. At home and abroad the underlying principles are the same, though their application and development must be different; and it is impossible to consider the problems of the work abroad without considering—and, it may be, reconsidering—the first principles of all Church life.

The writer is a layman, addressing his fellow-laymen—not the experts, but churchmen “in the street,” like himself, who have not begun, or who have only just begun, to think about these matters; and any interest or value which his remarks may possess is due solely to that fact. The Church of England is entering a period of her history which, if the laity are alert and faithful to their vocation, will, it is hoped, hereafter be marked as the Layman’s Period. Our Roman friends are appealing for “an apostolic laity,”¹ and the need is no less great among ourselves. But an apostolic laity must be a thinking

¹ The reference is to the movement known as “The Knights of the Blessed Sacrament”.

laity; and before we do anything else we of the Church of England must set to work to think—honestly, and therefore logically (as far as logic will carry us), think for ourselves. The Englishman does not enjoy a great reputation as a thinker. He mistrusts abstract systems of thought, and he is suspicious of logic. He is wrong, of course, as experience has shown more than once in the last four years: but underlying his attitude there is a sound instinct. To the Englishman the end of thought is action, and the value of truth lies in its application. He is by nature a pragmatist and judges by results. And because he finds that so much that is offered to him as truth in moral and political systems of thought hinders action instead of facilitating it, leads to palpable absurdity in practice, and complicates instead of simplifying the problems of living, he rightly becomes impatient. But instead of scrutinising more closely this so-called truth, the premisses from, and the process by, which it has been obtained, he throws his reason overboard and goes back to his rule of thumb. Now if we are to lay the foundations of the Church in non-christian lands well and truly, we must ourselves be certain that, in our own conceptions of it, we have the Truth. Are we certain?

Truth fails not; but her outward forms that bear
The longest date do melt like frosty rime,
That in the morning whitened hill and plain
And is no more.

Is it the Truth on which we are trying to build, or

only one of these transient forms? Here the Englishman's pragmatism may serve us.

This is not the place to discuss pragmatism as a philosophical system. All that is needful for the present purpose has been aptly put by M. Bourget into a sentence: "Il est certain, en effet, que la vérité n'a pas pour mesure l'utilité; il n'est pas moins certain que l'utilité reste une présomption de vérité, en sorte que le pragmatisme, erroné en tant que philosophie définitive, est très légitime en tant que méthode et que commencement d'enquête".¹ And even this judgment needs some further qualification. The Baconian maxim *quod in operando utilissimum id in sciendo uerissimum* is not an infallible canon of enquiry, and we shall be on safer ground if we look to pragmatism only for a negative test. In face of the practical problems of life, that which hampers action, checks the outflow of spiritual force, and depresses vitality, is not likely to be true.

This negative test must be applied to our conceptions of Church and ministry and sacraments. Do they make it more difficult, instead of more easy, for all men to come to the knowledge of God? do they hinder the advancement of the Kingdom of God, instead of facilitating it? do they weaken, instead of strengthening, the witness of the Church, the Body of Christ, whether in the Mission field or at home? Then there is a strong presumption of

¹ P. Bourget, Preface to E. Psichari's "Le Voyage du Centurion," p. xxiii.

error; and where there is a presumption of error, we English churchmen, with all our respect for duly constituted authority, can acquiesce in its voice only if it is an authority which is constantly re-examining its premisses; for to that principle the Church of England irrevocably committed herself by her Reformation.¹ What, then, we must always be asking, are the facts? What is the evidence? And when we are certain that we have got all the facts and all the evidence, and that we are using them in the right way, then let us not hesitate to trust our reason in drawing the conclusion, and, abandoning our habitual compromises and half measures, carry that conclusion out, no matter what the consequences.

It used to be the pride of Anglican theology that its outlook is Platonist rather than Aristotelian; and the essence of Plato's dialectic was willingness to *go where the argument leads*.² And that requires faith. We need—we English especially need—faith, not so much to correct as to reinforce reason. Have we in our Church life, faith enough to go where the argument leads? It may, it probably will, lead to something that we dislike. One half of us would like to make the world "Catholic"; the other half would like

¹ If the dictum of Socrates (Plato, "Apol.," 38A) that "the unexamined life is impossible for a human being," is true of the individual, it is doubly true of a society—even of a society which, though guaranteed the Divine guidance, is constantly exposed to the contagion of human error.

² Plato, "Rep.," 394D.

to make it "Protestant": is our faith equal to sacrificing such likes and dislikes? Surely the war has taught us that, when we are face to face with the fundamental problems of life, our individual predilections simply do not matter. How many millions of men and women in this bloodstained world have been called to sacrifice likes and dislikes and, sacrificing them in faith, have gone where the argument of patriotism and righteousness led! Truly, if the Son of Man were to come now, He would find plenty of faith in the world, but would He find as much in the Church?

It all comes back to this: do we, or do we not, believe that the Holy Spirit is still operative in the Church? If we do, then we not only can, but must, go where He leads. Or again, do we not sometimes, through want of faith, try to look too far ahead, and in so doing allow the Church to be paralysed for immediate action? There is a line of thought which tells us that the Church of England is, in the providence of God, marked out for a particular task, and that we must not, at any given moment, do anything that may prejudice the fulfilment of that high vocation. It may be so, but let us beware.

There was once a Church, a Church with a glorious past and with the vision of a glorious future, a high vocation, if ever there was one. And because it had its eyes always fixed on that future, because it could discern the face of the earth and the

sky, but could not discern the signs of the times, because it was obsessed with its own idea of its vocation and did not recognise its King when He came to it, meek and riding upon an ass—therefore there was pronounced upon it the irreversible judgment which is pronounced upon all those who know not the time of their visitation. Let us be wiser. If we believe in the present operation of the Holy Spirit we must be content with the next step. The question for us is : What are we going to do now ? The duty for the performance of which we must answer, as a Church and as individuals, is the duty of to-day, and not the duty of to-morrow or the day after.

But, whatever her vocation may be, there is one infallible way in which the Church of England will miss it, and that is, if the laity—not the party men, but the rank and file of churchmen and churchwomen—do not wake up, and, setting themselves to think for themselves, and repenting of their age-long abdication, take their rightful position in the Church. The laity cannot afford to let these great questions go by default. If the Holy Spirit is still operative in the Church, He is not operative in any one order apart from the other two, or in any two apart from the third, but in the Church as a whole, in bishops, clergy, and laity acting together ; and only when the laity are thus playing their part with the others is the activity of the Spirit unhindered. No decision

taken in the name of the Church is effectively valid—no such decision can be carried out in practice—if it does not commend itself to the robust common sense of the vast majority of lay churchmen and women throughout the whole Anglican Communion.

But if that is so, there is no time to be lost, and we must set to work to educate ourselves. We must study the great problems of the Mission field as a part of our general conception of churchmanship, as well as in their particular local bearings. We must lose no opportunity of listening to the experts. But we must also remember that experts, though good servants, are bad masters, and that education does not mean being told what to think : it means having the materials for thought given to us, and learning how to use them. And we shall only derive the full benefit ourselves—we shall only do our best for the building up of the Church at home and abroad—if, having listened to the experts, we think for ourselves ; and if, having thought and prayed, we are willing, humbly but courageously,—courageously because faithfully—to go where the argument leads.

These addresses—though they appear to lead up to a sort of conclusion—are intended to do no more than furnish starting points and lines, from and along which such a process of thought would seem to lead those who hold *ex animo* the principles of the Church of England.

The writer's thanks are due to the S.P.C.K. and

the S.P.G. for permission to reprint Papers I. and II. respectively, and to the C.M.S. for the Kikuyu agreement, extracts from which are printed in Appendix B. Also particularly to the Rev. H. N. Bate for counsel in preparing the papers for the press.

October, 1918,

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I.

THE TASK OF THE CHURCH.¹

AMONG the subjects which may well be considered in the literature of the National Mission are the various aspects of the spiritual revelation which the war has made, and their bearing on the great end for which the Church exists. It must have struck some of us as strange that war—in many respects the most grossly material of phenomena—should have any spiritual revelation to make at all. I suppose the explanation is this—not only that the whole tendency of our human life is to obscure the great spiritual issues under the daily accumulation of the material, but that such sense as we retain of the spiritual becomes weakened by all those conventions and compromises which the existence of sin forces us to set up, to serve as buffers between souls in human society. And so as time goes on we forget that irresistible current of spiritual realities which beneath the shallow surface-waters of the stream of life is always flowing steadily on towards the “far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves”.

¹ An address delivered at the Guildhall, under the title “The Revelation of Spiritual Power,” on the London Diocesan Missionary Day, 1916, and subsequently published as National Mission Paper, No. 27.

And then suddenly there comes some great catastrophe, which breaks down all the conventions and compromises and, literally, turns our life upside down, so that that which was underneath is now on top, and for a time we have clear vision of it, and for a time the spiritual becomes the visibly real for us. Such a catastrophe is war, and in power to reveal the spiritual it differs from other catastrophes not through any virtue of its own—as though it could in any circumstances be a good thing—but merely because it is generally on a larger scale, and because the vast destruction of matter which it involves gives a most wholesome shock to the all-too-easy trust which we repose in the permanence of the material frame of things.

The particular aspect of this world-upheaval which we are now considering is perhaps the most obvious. For the revelation of spiritual power that the war has made is plain for all to see. You take up any daily paper and you read it on every page. A young non-commissioned officer, wounded in both arms, and with one leg shot off at the knee, drags himself along the trench to the point of danger, takes command, and for two hours holds the ground against all comers. A famous regiment advances through a deadly shrapnel fire with the steadiness of parade, “one equal temper of heroic hearts”. Or you read of an army holding its positions for the appointed time, and then retreating before overwhelming forces after days of heavy fighting—retreating but unbroken. Or—most inspiring spectacle of all—you see a whole people concentrated on its task—man, woman, and

child—divisions re-united, selfish interests laid aside, personal considerations forgotten—the whole will and energy of the whole people concentrated, focussed, on the one great task, burning its way through to victory. There you have spiritual force in varying degrees and under different shapes—"exultations, agonies, and love"—the love which lays down its life for its friends—"love, and man's unconquerable mind"—spiritual power.

Now where does it come from? It would be interesting, if we had time, to inquire. But perhaps we should not be able to answer positively. We should have to be content with saying negatively that it does not originate solely with the individual, nor solely with the community, and yet that, of the two, it originates rather with the community than with any of its component parts. A broken army does not necessarily mean a broken State; but the broken spirit of the State sooner or later communicates itself to the army. We see it, then, this spiritual force, circulating freely between community and individual—in the community, fed by the individual, and returning from the community to the individual in overflowing measure. It was not only his own undaunted spirit that held the mastery over the shattered body of that non-commissioned officer: it was not only the aggregation of a number of undaunted spirits that carried that battalion far into the enemy's lines. It was the spirit of the whole army, of the whole nation. And more than that. It was the spirit of all those who had gone before. "In our halls is hung Armoury of the invincible

knights of old." What we call tradition—the tradition of a great family, of a great regiment, of a great nation—is not merely something past which we have heard with our ears and our fathers have declared unto us. It is a spiritual presence. Those invincible knights of old have passed away; but they have made their contribution to the sum total of spiritual force in the world, "to live and act and serve the future hour," and it lives on in our midst on whom the ends of the world are come. And here, in the nation at war, we realise for the first time, most of us, quite clearly the existence of this great treasury of spiritual power, on which the individual and the nation draw at need, and can always draw, so long as they in turn are making their own contribution to it. That is one of the revelations of the war.

The application of this to the Church is so clear that we need not dwell on it. But let us ask ourselves one question: If the nation has never understood till now the vast reserves of spiritual power which it possesses, has the Church been wiser? For example, I suppose there is nothing more astonishing which the war has taught us than the heroic value of raw human nature. These men who have performed these feats of heroism and endurance—on the battlefield, in the trenches, on deck, in the air, in the hospitals, yes, and in the factories—feats unsurpassed in England's long annals—are not, the vast majority of them, the fine flower of Christian civilisation, the finished product of the Church. On the contrary. We even had difficulty, before the war, in accounting for the existence of many of them in a Christian—or

even in a civilised—country. Why? Because we never gave them a chance. But the war gave them a chance, and they took it. And now that we see what they are capable of—when we read of so much inherent goodness and natural Christianity in this raw product of human nature—surely we realise that that Church was indeed *manquée* which had no use for them; we get some vision of what that Church may become which knows how to convert such raw material into the finished product; and we recognise it as one of the first tasks awaiting the Church after the war to find means to unlock these stores of spiritual power for the service of the Kingdom of God.

We look at those brave men and we look at ourselves. The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and violent men take it by force. Yes, if they are the raw material, we at least are the finished product—or we ought to be; and the spiritual power that is given to us at Confirmation is nothing less than the Holy Spirit Himself. What use have we made of it? Can we claim that we have always “done our bit”—made our contribution to the sum total of the spiritual force of the Church—stirred up the spiritual gift that is in us? Or have we rather been of those who—seeking peace, choosing “the cool sequestered vale of life” rather than the dust and noise of battle and the garments rolled in blood—have been content to think only of our own salvation, and played half-heartedly for small stakes? Those who have done that have not been without their reward indeed:—

Only they see not God, I know,
Nor all that chivalry of His,
The soldier-saints who, row on row,
Burn upward each to his point of bliss—
Since, the end of life being manifest,
He had burned his way thro' the world to this.

“The end of life being manifest.” Have we sufficiently remembered what is the end of the Church’s life—her *raison d’être*? Let us look at the war again. If there is one truth which more than any other has been impressed upon us it is surely this: that if you want to exploit your store of spiritual power to the utmost, you must keep steadily before men’s eyes the cause for which they are fighting. The man in the trenches sees only the small section in front of him. The man or woman in the munition factory sees only the daily piece of work. Even the nation tends to be immersed in the momentary crisis or series of crises of which the history of the war is made up. So the individual and the nation flag and become stale—the free outflow of spiritual force is checked. Nay, have we not sometimes even forgotten that we are at war at all? And so it is, I am afraid, with the Church. We have forgotten not only what we are fighting for, but that we are fighting. We have talked about the Church militant until it has become a mere figure of speech, and when the nation is at peace we forget that the Church is at war. And so we keep her, as it were, on a peace footing. From time to time, indeed, when some one outside whispers the word “disendowment,” the Church is declared to be in danger, the tocsin sounds, and mobilisation is ordered. But

the danger passes, the reserves are disbanded, the sentries sleep again at their posts; and our spiritual force subsides and expends itself upon the minor tasks of peace. True, our services were never more beautiful. The incense rises, the tapers glow, the choir sings sweetly, the preacher speaks with the tongue of an angel. It is beautiful, it is even necessary. But it is not war. It is no more like war than the Trooping of the Colour is like the battle of Neuve Chapelle. The army of the Kingdom of God must be always mobilised: *bella premunt hostilia*. The Church is always in danger: the Church is always at war: "I came not to bring peace but a sword".

What, then, is the end for which the Church is fighting and which we must keep ever before our eyes? It is no small end: for it is nothing less than the end for which Christ Jesus came into the world—the redemption of the whole human race, the offering to God of a redeemed humanity. And the Church will attain it—not by a passive defence of her own interests: not even by a series of minor offensives against this or that particular sin or injustice, whether of the individual or of society. Those are tactics, not strategy. She may succeed in all of them, and yet lose the campaign. And that is what has been happening. We are so immersed in the part that we forget the whole: we cannot see the wood for the trees. And so the current of the Church's spiritual power, instead of flowing out and on in one mighty stream "with pomp of waters unwithstood," loses itself in bogs and sands. Spiritual vitality is lowered,

and men ask anxiously, Is the Church of England a failure?

No, it is not a failure; but in this respect it has failed, just as England herself failed at an earlier stage of the war. "In order to get less from human nature," says Renan somewhere, "you must ask more." I should prefer to say, "The more you ask of human nature, the more you will get". Ask a little, set out with partial aims, and you will get partial results. But ask *everything* and—surely the war has shown us that—you will get *everything*. Tax the spiritual force of the nation to the uttermost, and it shows itself inexhaustible. If you want men to fight you must show them that their cause is a great cause—and the greater the cause, the better they will fight. So it is with the Church. "Image the whole, then execute the parts." And our part to-day is to rekindle in ourselves, and—if so it may be—even farther afield, the vision of the great objective of the Church's warfare—the great vision of the redeemed humanity. To lift our eyes from the partial aims and the local tasks, and to look outwards and upwards to the world-vision of the Empire of Christ. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

II.

IMPERIAL CHRISTIANITY.¹

THE subject of these remarks is the place of Foreign Mission work in the life of the Church and of the individual; and I put the Church first, because, as will appear, it is the corporate responsibility of the Church of England as such on which it seems necessary in existing circumstances to lay especial stress; while the responsibility of the individual, though it rises from another source, must manifest itself through his Churchmanship.

What, then, is the responsibility of the Church in respect of Foreign Mission work, and whence comes it? It comes primarily from the direct command of its Founder. The passages in the Gospels are familiar: St. Matt. xxviii. 19: "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you". St. Mark xvi. 15: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation". These words are very plain; and if we admit the critical objections to both passages we still have left to us

¹ In its original form an address delivered in connection with the Church of England Laymen's Missionary Movement in the Deanery of Kensington in the spring of 1913, subsequently published in "The East and the West," October, 1913.

Acts i. 8: "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth". The opening verses of the Acts are of special importance as giving the earliest account of the events of the Forty Days; and it is clear from them that the evangelisation of the world formed part of the instruction of our Lord during the momentous period when, according to the same account, He was "speaking the things concerning the Kingdom of God"; and that this instruction was given not to His followers in general, but to His Apostles in particular—that is to say, to the officers of the Church. That it would be so might have been inferred from the course of events. True, He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. But He came to His own, and His own received Him not; and He clearly foretold that "many from the east and the west shall come and sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. viii. 11).

The Apostles themselves were in very little doubt from the first what their instructions meant. On the day of Pentecost itself St. Peter had proclaimed that the promise was also "to all those afar off," as well as to the Jews (Acts ii. 39); though it was not until the persecution which followed the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and the dispersal of the Church from Jerusalem that the first definite preaching to the Greeks began in Antioch. And it is noticeable that it was in Antioch, a heathen city, that the word "Christian" first came into use. It is unnecessary to speak of St. Paul's missionary journeys, which,

almost from the first, had Rome for their objective ; and if it be argued that a missionary enterprise which proceeded along the main roads of a highly civilised empire to the capital of that empire was hardly Foreign Mission work in the sense in which we understand it now, we may point to the early traditions which took St. Bartholomew to Southern Arabia, St. Andrew to Russia, and St. Thomas to India. These traditions, it is true, lack corroboration, but they show that during the earliest centuries the evangelisation of the heathen was accepted as the natural work of Apostles ; and the actual distribution of Christianity confirms this popular belief, for in A.D. 325 (Council of Nicaea) there was a Bishop of the Church of Persia ; in 424 (Council of Seleucia) a Bishop of Herat ; and by the middle of the seventh century there were Archbishops of Kabul and Peking, and Missions in ten provinces of China.

But even if we had not our Lord's command, and this evidence of its interpretation by the early Church, there are two other considerations which must necessarily lead us to the same conclusion.

(1) This missionary activity is inseparably bound up with the theology of St. Paul. We have in modern times tended to think disproportionately of the salvation of the individual soul. The tendency of St. Paul's thought, however, is to show that that which is uppermost in the divine purpose is not the salvation of the individual, but the redemption of the whole human race—the bringing back to God of a race which in Adam had become subject to death, but in Christ is to be made alive. The trend of

modern thought—of the doctrine, or hypothesis, of evolution, for example—is all in the same direction. Though not one of us perishes without our Father, it is the race, a perfected race, which is “the far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves”. If that is so, obviously there can be no limit to the missionary task of the Church; for “how shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, ‘How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things’” (Rom. x. 14).

(2) Again, let us look at the analogy of the kingdoms of the world. The Church, it is true, is a kingdom that is divine, in the sense, at least, that it has a divine Head. But it is composed—or the visible part of it is composed—of human beings, and as such is necessarily liable to the laws that govern the growth and decay of other human institutions. Now, if we look at the nations which from the dawn of history down to our own day have risen to greatness, we see that they have all been colonising nations. Phœnicia, the Greek States, Rome, Spain, for example, in the past—even Scandinavia had its colony in the Far West—and in our own day the instances are before our eyes. And when they ceased to colonise, to send out colonies, and to maintain those colonies by a constant supply of their best blood, they declined. I do not say that it was cause and effect; but I do say that the colonising instinct is a necessary sign of national life. For the colonising instinct in a nation is nothing else than the repro-

ductive instinct in the individual writ large. That is to say, it has its origin in something more than economic grounds; indeed, the economic grounds which are the occasion of emigration are themselves the effect of that deep-seated instinct. It is the superabundant vitality of the nation that makes it an absolute necessity that it should reproduce itself beyond its own borders.

And so we get the imperial idea; and I propose to dwell upon this a little, because it seems to me to be singularly fruitful for our present purpose. It is perhaps in the world the most potent idea of our time. As we all know, it is much misused and takes the strangest forms. One man must organise a raid upon a neighbouring country in time of peace; for another, nothing will do but he must be able to sail round the world under one flag; a third will put a tax on bacon; and a fourth will take it off again—all in the name of Empire. But under all these vagaries, under the crude materialism in which it often manifests itself, there is a high idealism in the conception of Empire. For what really animates the Imperialist is the firm, even if mistaken, belief that the race to which he belongs is the noblest, and the civilisation and ideals for which it stands are the highest—are, in fact, so high that all the world must needs accept them. Now, this is an outlook upon life that is at once familiar to the Christian. The idea of Kingship is bound up with the idea of Christ. His accusers charged him with calling Himself "Christ, a king". The Kingdom of Heaven, like a net cast into the sea and collecting of every kind, is a constant subject of His discourse. And the time

to which we are bidden to look forward by that disciple who was most familiar with His thought is the time when "the Kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ". It is worth noticing in passing that most of the terminology of royalty with which we are familiar in the New Testament—phrases like "King of kings," etc.—had been currently applied throughout the East to the reigning families of the kingdoms which the Roman Empire had gradually absorbed, and from them had passed to the Roman Emperors; and when St. John wrote those words he must almost certainly have had that great world-empire in his mind. If, then, the Church is, as we believe, the outward manifestation of the Kingdom of Christ, if Churchmen are, as St. Peter calls them, "*a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation,*" are we not bound, taking to ourselves and christianising the analogy of the kingdoms of the world, to say that the Church must stand for the Empire of Christ, and Christians be an Imperial people, an Empire-building people? But let us be quite clear from the very outset that it is an analogy and nothing more—that when we speak of Imperial Christianity we do not mean Christian Empire, not even a christianised British Empire. That, indeed, is an idea which should occupy us more than it has sometimes done in the past; but it is a part only of the imperial idea which I am putting forward now.

Can we not, then, exploit the imperial idea, that is so widely current among us, in this larger sense, and find in it the most hopeful means of arousing the Church, and especially the laity, to a sense of their

responsibilities? In doing so, we shall only be following the method of the Apostles themselves in their missionary work—which was to move along the line of least resistance—to take what they found and utilise it—instead of always trying to create anew. This is familiar in the case of St. Paul. We know how he worked along the main routes of the Roman Empire, and how he nearly always selected for his missions places where there was already a Jewish synagogue. And no more interesting result has been yielded by recent explorations in Asia Minor, and by the discovery in Egypt of so many documents contemporary with the birth of Christianity, than the proof of the extent to which the New Testament writers took the ideas and language current in the world around them, and turned them to their own account and put them to Christian uses. We are justified, then, in proceeding in the same way, and in approaching those to whom the idea of evangelisation is strange along lines with which they are familiar in secular affairs.

And if we can get this imperial idea of the Church's functions accepted, surely it must work a complete revolution in the attitude of the Church as a body, and of individual Churchmen, to the task. For how has the Church of England since the Reformation discharged her imperial mission, or, putting aside for the moment metaphors and analogies, how has she obeyed the divine command and followed the apostolic example? The answer must be, Almost not at all as a Church. She has been content—until quite recent times—to leave this essential branch of her

work to the unguided, and sometimes unsupported, efforts of voluntary organisations. Now no one would wish to speak slightly of these organisations. If, indeed, the Church of England of the last three centuries had nothing else to be proud of, she might be proud that such societies as the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., and the C.M.S. have come into existence in her environment. It is a great thing that her sons have founded and increasingly support those great societies; but is it altogether creditable to her that she has left them entirely to themselves?—so entirely that of all the Anglican missionary societies now in existence only two have so much as the word “Church” in their titles? Indeed, we have societies for this and that; we have Oxford Missions, Cambridge Missions, Dublin Missions, Universities’ Missions, even Archbishop of Canterbury’s Missions—but, with the single exception of the Church of England Zenana Mission, we have no “Church of England Mission”. That is a symptom, which deserves attention, of the aloofness which the official Church has generally observed. Here is another.

The growth of Christianity in India in the last decade has attracted general attention, and the Church of England has shared in it, the number of her Indian members having risen from 213,000 in 1901 to 332,000 in 1911. There is at the present moment no more absorbing sphere of missionary interest, nor is there any that should make a stronger appeal to English Churchmen. The diocese of Calcutta (1814) is the third in order of time of all the overseas dioceses of the Church of England, and it

has been administered by men whose names are conspicuous in missionary annals, the most famous being, perhaps, the second bishop, Heber, the author of the best-known missionary hymn in our language. The diocese of Calcutta was followed by those of Madras (1835) and Bombay (1837), and though there have since been subdivisions the three parent dioceses remain the most important in India. Calcutta is the metropolitan See, while Madras contains very nearly half of the Christian population of India. Now, the origin of the Indian bishoprics is typical of the attitude of the Church of England as a whole towards Foreign Missions at that time, an apathetic attitude which, when it became active, became even hostile. The S.P.C.K. had indeed memorialised the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1812 for the establishment of episcopal administration in India, foreseeing wisely enough "that no sufficient supply for the ministerial succession, and the necessities of the extensive population of British India, could be furnished or continued without such an establishment of the ministry as might be able to regulate and perpetuate itself". What action was taken by his Grace I do not know. But it is a fact that in the resolutions of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, and in the East India Company's Charter Bill of 1813, based upon those resolutions, provision was made for the appointment of a bishop; while separate provision was made for the "open-door"—bare toleration, as William Wilberforce pointed out—for Christianity as a religion among the other religions of India. Now, the resolution providing the bishop was passed

without a division "after a long conversation" which the Parliamentary debatesman of the day did not think sufficiently important to report, whereas the open door for Christianity was the subject of long and repeated debates, and was carried by a not over-large majority. Why this difference of treatment? Simply because the bishop was intended solely for the benefit of the servants of the East Indian Company and could therefore, it was thought, do little harm, whereas the toleration of Christianity meant the free admission of missionaries to preach the Gospel. In this preaching the Church of England was to take no part; one of the speakers even cast it in the teeth of the supporters of the clause that the missionary work was to be left to the dissenting bodies, while the Church of England "loll[ed] at ease on her episcopal cushions"; and William Wilberforce recognised regretfully that the Established Church "contains within itself no means of providing fit agents for the important work". But even the innocuous bishop it was thought advisable to keep as much as possible in the background, and when Middleton was appointed in 1814 the Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to all precedent, suppressed the sermon that was preached at his consecration, for fear of the discussion which its publication would provoke. However, there the bishop was, and though Dr. Middleton himself deliberately refrained from putting direct missionary work in the forefront of his policy—for reasons which I think a fair-minded person will admit were sufficient, though they have been much criticised—his successors, and the bishops of

Madras and Bombay, of course, became almost from the outset the leaders of the missionary campaign. But let us ask ourselves now who pays for them. Their salaries amount to nearly £6500—no small sum, as missionary finance goes. Does the Church of England pay? or the missionary societies? Not at all; they are paid by Indian revenues—that is to say, by the Indian taxpayer; and, if anyone were to propose to abolish this anomaly, one has only to remember the devotion of the Church of England to her vested interests to be able to imagine what a wave of righteous indignation there would be throughout the land.

This example is not of academic interest only. For ever since 1813 that cleavage has been perpetuated in the Anglican Church in India—with most unfortunate results—between its missionary members and that State-appointed and State-paid section of it which slipped through Parliament almost unnoticed. For, besides paying the salaries of the three principal bishops, the Government also contributes largely to the salaries of four others, and maintains a large establishment of chaplains to minister to its military and civil servants. These chaplains are an admirable and devoted body of men, doing work which is most important, not only in itself, but in its bearing on the evangelisation of India. Indeed, Bishop Middleton, of whom I have been speaking, put it first, and regarded it as “the foundation on which alone missionaries can build. If every Englishman in India really wished to disseminate Christianity, recommending it both by his

example and his influence, or even not checking it, it would find its way." These two branches of the Church's work cannot in principle be distinguished from one another, and yet we find what I can only describe as two *castes* of clergy doing them, the existence of an officially-recruited caste, with an official status, tending to stereotype in its own mind, and in the minds of people generally in India and at home, that parochial view of the Church and her foreign work which we must somehow manage to revolutionise if we are to make her an Empire-building Church.

It does not belong to my subject to deal with the unfortunate results in the Mission field itself of the missionary policy, or absence of policy, of the past. The point under consideration is the results which it has had at home.

And first of all upon the clergy. It is not going too far, speaking generally, to say that Foreign Missions, having been left to the voluntary societies, form no part, as such, of the ordinary work of the Church as conceived by the clergy. If we look throughout the length and breadth of the land, in how many churches shall we find that Foreign Missions regularly form the subject of sermons, apart from periodical "begging" sermons in behalf of particular societies? One knows of a parish here and there where the vicar regularly once a month preaches on Foreign Missions, without necessarily having a collection for them. But how many such are there? Or again, in how many churches does Foreign Mission work regularly form the subject of corporate intercession at the Holy Communion?

How many parish priests instruct the children in Sunday-school or at other times, as a part of the regular curriculum, in this part of their duty as members—or about to become members—of the Church? or at all events give lessons in what we may call Christian geography, and attempt at least to rouse the children's interest in the Foreign Mission field? Or again, the bishops. They have, of course, a great deal else to do; but no small part of their time is occupied in confirmations, and in how many confirmation addresses is it ever even hinted to the children, now solemnly taking upon themselves the promises and vows on the strength of which they were received into the congregation of Christ's flock, that that congregation is a world-wide congregation?

And then as regards the laity—do we not see here too, as in every other branch of what ought to be the Church's work, that if the Church leaves it to the voluntary societies, the laity will take her at her word and treat the work as something purely voluntary and optional, as something which they may indeed acquire merit by doing, but which there is no harm, no discredit, in leaving undone? And so Foreign Mission work has come to be regarded by the average layman almost as a work of supererogation, or at all events as a kind of religious luxury. And this, it will be found, colours the outlook even of those for whom it is a necessity, and who are trying to make others feel it as a necessity. The very language which they use implies it. There is no more remarkable movement in that direction to-day than the Student Volunteer Missionary Union; and

how does it officially describe its work? "The movement is seeking to *interest* in Foreign Missions" certain classes of persons. To *interest*. Now we are interested, I suppose, in the equator or in an eclipse of the moon. But who talks of being interested in the British Empire? Our great Empire-builders—Cecil Rhodes and the like—whatever some people may think about them, at least all will recognise that the Empire was to them a great deal more than an interest. It was an absorbing passion—they hungered and thirsted after it, their zeal for it consumed them. Surely that must be no less the attitude towards the Foreign Mission field of the man whose Church is an Empire-building Church; and as surely it will never be his attitude so long as he allows himself and others to regard the work as optional—so long, that is to say, as the Church of England herself does not steadily press it upon him as part of the very conditions of his membership.

Then again, to the same cause is traceable the disproportionate place which money and the raising of money have come to occupy in connection with Foreign Missions. If there is a society for doing a particular thing, there is a great tendency for the individual to think that if he has contributed his money to that society he is relieved of further responsibility. He hands it over to the experts to spend in the way they know to be best—and as likely as not he forgets all about it until his subscription falls due again. And that attitude reacts upon the society, which, realising the need for money and its own responsibility on the one hand, and its expert knowledge on

the other, tends to regard the layman as merely a money-producing machine. God knows that the need for money is crying. But money is not all. Moreover, not every one has money to give, but every one has his prayers and his thoughts. If we turn again to the analogy of the worldly Empire—an Empire cannot be run without funds, but we do not find the provision of funds uppermost in everybody's mind. Still less do we find people measuring their concern in the problems of Empire by the sum that they pay in taxation. On the contrary, we find that, quite irrespective of financial questions, the best minds of the nation are constantly applying themselves to solve, or at least to understand, the manifold problems which a world-wide Empire presents—the poor man no less than the rich, the business or professional man in his leisure no less, proportionately, than the statesman or the official. The newspapers are full of it. But all that is lost to the Church and its Foreign Mission work so long as that work is left optional, and the responsibility for it delegated to societies whose primary duty is to raise funds, and who must, therefore, put the appeal for money into the foreground.

Once more, from the same cause flow those small and partial views which are fatal to imperial thinking. The S.P.G. and the C.M.S. are, indeed, world-wide Societies. But, even so, the general tendency of those to whom Foreign Missions are a matter of deep concern is to concentrate attention on the part, instead of attempting to get at least a glimpse of the whole. It is the particular Mission in the particular

place—sometimes even a particular individual in a particular Mission—that attracts, and the end is lost in the means. And this because there is not at the back of the particular Missions—not even at the back of the world-wide Societies—a big general idea, in the Church at large, correlating and combining and directing the whole—the dominant idea of the Kingdom of God, of which all these particulars are but provinces—important, doubtless, in themselves, but mainly important because they are parts of the greater whole. True, the horizon of India or of Africa is wide enough, in all conscience; but we need to lift our eyes to the still wider horizon which is to comprehend them both, if we are to realise for ourselves and make others realise, the full meaning of the task that lies before the Church, and to gain inspiration for its fulfilment.

“But,” it will be said, “that is not the way in which the British Empire itself grew. It grew by private enterprise, by the enterprise of individuals and of trading companies. There was no dominant guiding idea at the back of them. The shareholders of the East India Company and the other chartered companies were thinking of the exploitation of their own concessions; and the last thing they thought of was Empire-building, or commending the Anglo-Saxon ideal to the untutored Indian. That is the way we British do things, and it would be contrary to nature if the Church had proceeded otherwise.” That is, of course, perfectly true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The spirit of individual enterprise is the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race; but there comes a time when it runs to seed if it is not

taken up into, and controlled by, a wider whole. The history of the various chartered companies shows it. Sooner or later the home country has had to take them over; the stay-at-home Englishman has had to widen his parochial notions, and somehow contrive to fit these foreign acquisitions into his scheme of things; and it was not till he began to do so that these *disjecta membra* began to grow into an Empire. That process, as we know, began only a comparatively few years ago. The story is told of Delane, the famous editor of the "Times," who died in 1879, that at some public dinner he found himself next to a Canadian statesman who could talk of nothing but the resources and progress of Canada. At last, Delane—the editor of a newspaper renowned for its Olympian view of things—could stand it no longer, and he said drily: "Yes, I suppose Canada must be getting on very well, since we hear so little of the 'd—— place'". That represents an attitude of mind which died hard, but died once for all. And so it must be in the Church. Private enterprise there must always be; the voluntary societies must go on, working harder and more devotedly than ever, each along its own lines. But all the responsibility for rousing and guiding the forces of opinion among Churchmen must no longer rest on them, but on the Church herself. It is the Church, and not the societies, that must rouse the enthusiasm of her members and control and co-ordinate the policy of the whole, if the scattered Missions are to grow into organic parts of a living Empire.¹

¹ See note p. 39—The Central Board of Missions.

And the whole trend of events and thought is in that direction. It is not many years ago that it began. It may perhaps be said to date from 1872, when the S.P.G. initiated the day of intercession for Foreign Missions on St. Andrew's Day; but it has gained its greatest force since the Lambeth Conference of 1897, and may be said to have culminated in the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908—events which, like the two jubilees of Queen Victoria in the world, more than anything else brought home the imperial idea to the popular mind of the Church. Most important in this connection was the letter of the two Archbishops which followed the Congress in 1909, and in which this passage occurs: "We call upon all members of our Church here in England and Wales to unite in a more determined resolution to place and keep the Mission of the Church to the whole world in the forefront of its thought and prayer and action. The cause of Missions must no longer be merely an occasional object, however zealously supported, of our prayers and offerings—but an essential element in the corporate life of the Church." An essential element in the corporate life of the Church—to make and keep it that, is the task of the laity. For the movement must have its roots deep down in the individual life before it can influence the corporate life.

Of the obligation and imperial duty of the Church I have spoken. Whence comes the obligation of the individual? From two main sources. First, from the general obligation of Christian charity. If we really *believe*: if the Christian faith really stands for something to us—nay, if it stands for anything at

all; if the claims and the promises of Christ are really to us the fundamental things of life—the things which really matter: then is it not our bounden duty to pass on that which we have ourselves received? The second source is the direct personal relation of the individual to Christ, which is the essence of vital religion. If the individual, in fact, stands in this intimate personal relation to Him, then whatever is a matter of concern to Christ is a matter of concern to the individual. If, therefore, we are to believe, as we surely must, that the extension of His Kingdom lies nearest to His Heart, then it must inevitably be nearest to our hearts also. The difference between a servant and a friend, as He Himself tells us, is that the servant does not know what his master is doing. But friend shares knowledge and counsel with friend, and the King's friend must know and share the foreign policy of the King.¹

Such, then, is the task of the layman—from the depths of his personal spiritual experience to bring to bear upon the corporate life of the Church that zeal for the salvation of mankind, and from the corporate life of the Church to receive that imperial idea, which will give his zeal driving power and make it an irresistible force. And that idea, the imperial idea, is, I believe, what must be put in the forefront. It is not the function of the laity to go about preaching. We English, especially, do not talk easily to one another about our spiritual experiences. There is not much that we can do along

¹ See G. H. S. Walpole (now Bishop of Edinburgh), "Vital Religion," chapter xv,

that line. But the duty of the Church and of the Churchman as Empire-builders is something that we can all work on. The idea is familiar and current in the world around us. It is, moreover, a practical and business-like idea, which should appeal to men of the world. And, what is perhaps most important in view of our unhappy divisions, it is a unifying idea. It takes all sorts to make an Empire. There is room in the Empire of Christ for the contribution of English churchmen of all schools of thought, of Christians of all denominations; room for the activities of all, a place for everybody's particular brick in the vast structure.

What, then, we must ask ourselves, as practical men, is our particular brick? What can we do to translate the vision of the Kingdom of God into a sober reality? The first thing we can do—and it must be the first step in any propaganda—is to get ourselves acquainted with the facts and problems of the Foreign Mission work of to-day. For that purpose there is, nowadays, plenty of literature, and, if we study it closely, we shall find four things which will profoundly impress us, and with which we shall be able in turn to impress others.

The first is that Mission work has passed out of the realm of romance. It is no longer a matter of forlorn hopes, and hair's-breadth escapes, and dramatic martyrdoms. It is a matter of plain practical business. The modern missionary does not walk alone into a pathless jungle with a Bible in one hand and a walking-stick in the other. He goes out as part of an elaborate organisation, with all the re-

sources of science at his back. There are martyrdoms, indeed, but they are just the hum-drum deaths (though not the less precious on that account) of the men and women who fall victims to disease, or break down from overwork in unfavourable conditions, just as their comrades do in the world. The missionary work of to-day is not the fantastic venture of dreamers, but the carefully-planned enterprise of practical men.

And the second thing that will impress ourselves and others is that missionary problems cannot be studied *in vacuo*, but only in their environment. In other words, if we are to understand them, we must first have some idea of what is going on in the world around them. You cannot deal with the missionary problem in Africa without knowing something of the great Pan-Islamic movement which is stirring the whole Mohammedan world and may some day threaten the civilisation and religion of Europe. You cannot understand the missionary problem in India without having a good deal more than a surface knowledge of the ancient culture and religions of the peoples, and of some of the great political and administrative problems which are taxing the best brains of the Empire. Education, for example, is a problem of urgent importance in India. The purely secular education, which is all that the State can give consistently with its necessary policy of religious neutrality, is beginning to cause discontent. But it has always been the policy of the State to leave secondary education, as far as possible, to private enterprise—subject, of course, to its own supervision

and ultimate control—and merely to support it by grants in aid. Already much of it is in the hands of missionaries, and it needs little imagination to see what an opportunity there is here—not so much for proselytism as for the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the creation of that atmosphere in which Christianity must eventually grow. The missionary task is so much wider than mere proselytism. I should like to quote a quite impartial witness on this point—Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State¹ for India, who, after a visit to that country, thus spoke in the House of Commons on August 7 last: “We intend to rely, as we have relied in the past, on private enterprise for secondary education. It is difficult to exaggerate the debt we owe to private enterprise in teaching in India. One can see on all hands the marvellous work done by the Missions. I am not now talking about any efforts at conversion. I am talking about the real educational work which they have achieved in virtue of the inspiration which they derive from their religion. These voluntary agencies, assisted by Government inspection, recognition, and control, have, by their energy and the influence of their teachers, accomplished a great work for the development of India, where everything, particularly in education, depends on personality and human influence.”

And that, I think, is the third fact that will emerge from our studies—the disproportionate importance which the public at large attaches to a kind of religious scalp-hunting. I said at the beginning of these remarks that we tend to think too much of

¹ Now Secretary of State.

the individual soul and too little of the race. Heaven forbid that any single soul should be allowed to perish through mere ignorance, if it can be prevented, or that Missions should forget that to make disciples of the nations is their ultimate aim. But that is one thing, and the process of counting heads, which the public so indiscriminately apply, is quite another; and it is this latter which is responsible for so much misconception of the problems and disappointment with the results, or apparent lack of results. It may sound paradoxical, but it is really possible to make thousands of converts and yet to be still on the fringe of the fundamental problem. Thus in India, I have spoken of the progress made by Christianity in the last ten years, and especially in Southern India, where are to be found more than twice as many Christians as in the whole of the rest of the country. It is a great work, but it has brought us very little nearer to the real crux. For those two and a quarter millions of people are the people who have practically no caste, and the central missionary problem in India is the problem of caste and all the social conditions that it involves. This counting of heads has been compared by a recent writer to the numbering of the people by David—it was interesting to the king, but it was fatal to the kingdom. Such statistics, he says, “put the emphasis on the individual convert, not on the people to be evangelised; on the momentary result rather than on the permanent influence; on the present actuality rather than on the future possibility.”¹

¹ Lucas, “*Empire of Christ*,” p. 143.

And the fourth thing that will emerge is a very much clearer idea of just *that*—of the “future possibility,” of the ultimate goal of missionary enterprise. It is something more than mere proselytism, it is Empire-building. What, then, is the nature of this Empire of Christ of which we have been speaking? If one were to inquire what is the general idea of the man in the street regarding the evangelisation of the nations, one would probably get a picture of a world dotted with Anglican churches built in the suburban Gothic style, with romantic missionaries expounding the authorised version of the Bible, in the light of the Thirty-nine Articles, to congregations differing from ourselves only in the colour of their skins and the absence of their clothes, while clean little black choir-boys in clean little white surplices sing their various versions of Hymns Ancient and Modern, or, it may be, the Hymnal Companion.

Now, if we have made any such study of the ground as I have suggested, we shall very soon realise that, whatever else the Universal Church of the future may be like, it will not be in the least like that. We shall have taken account, in the first place, of the enormous diversity of the actual races of, say, India alone. Then, of the vast difference in the conditions—historical, social, religious—that lie behind the high-caste Brahmin and the out-caste Pariah, the pantheism of the Hindu philosopher and the polytheism of the Hindu peasant. We shall have observed the gulf which separates both these from the fierce burning monotheism of the Moslem. And then, if we have passed from them to China in

the East and to Africa in the West, we shall have come to see how widely different must be the presentation of the Faith if it is to make good its claim to all of them. Forms of thought and language that to us seem almost fundamental, to them are meaningless or misleading. There are parts of the world where it is useless to speak of the Fatherhood of God, because motherhood, not fatherhood, is the characteristic feature of family life. There are parts of the world where the whole set of ideas which we associate with the "Lamb of God" can make no appeal, because the sheep is a savage animal. We shall arrive, then, from a consideration of the facts at the conviction that anything like uniformity of formularies and even of doctrine is out of the question; that the Faith must be presented to each race in the shape in which it can not only assimilate, but also develop it. And we shall find confirmation of this view in the actual history of the Western Church itself. As we look back we see the different aspects of the Faith that were emphasised by Jews and Greeks and Africans, and we can distinguish the contributions made to our inheritance by them. Even where the steam-roller of the Church of Rome has passed over the face of the land we see the difference between, for example, Spanish Catholicism and German Catholicism; and no one would mistake the Teuton Thomas à Kempis for the Latin Francis of Assisi. They have all made their contributions to the common fund; and what they have done in the West the other races of mankind have to do in the East. We cannot doubt that there will be great

developments of Christian doctrine—that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, for example, which has been almost wholly untouched in the West, will have an appeal for the highly spiritual East (and especially, as many think, for China), which will lead to an immense enrichment of the whole idea of God.

But if that is to be so, what the Churches of the nations will need will be freedom—freedom to develop along their own lines, throwing out heresies, no doubt, but in the main being led by the Spirit of God into all truth. And if they are to have this freedom they must have self-government. Now, here will come the heaviest demand on the statesmanship of the Empire-building Church at home. Nothing is more difficult for the white man than to know when to withdraw his hand from the machine which he has set in motion. But sooner or later he must. In India the experiment is being made already. The Oxford Mission to Calcutta is the parent of a purely Indian Mission in the hills of Assam. There has been for some time an Indian Mission in Madras. And—what we believe is an event of great historical importance—an Indian bishop has just been consecrated as assistant to the Bishop of Madras, but with an area in which his jurisdiction will be practically independent. In China events are tending in the same direction. During the revolution the other day the European missionaries in the province of Szechuan had to withdraw, leaving their Missions in charge of native priests; and, the Szechuanese being men of sound force and character, these priests are showing something more than a reluctance to return to a sub-

ordinate position now that the Europeans have gone back to their charges.

Now is it not just here that the political experience of the Anglo-Saxon race will be most helpful? Is there any other Empire in the world in which we see freedom of natural and national development united and yet not hampered by a common bond of loyalty to the Crown and love of the Mother Country, and by the common ideals which spring therefrom? And is not that the very picture of what—if my argument has been correct—the Empire of Christ must be? Diversity of apprehension and contribution; liberty of development; and, finally, unity—the true unity which comes, not because it is uniform, but because it is universal. For as in Christ, who is the Head, there is “neither Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free”—not because He is none of these, but because he is all of them—so the Church which is His body cannot be perfected until (in the words of the Apocalypse) “they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it”; that is to say, until the special characteristics of every race have been not submerged, but brought to their individual perfection, in a perfect whole.¹

The first thing, then, we laymen have to do is to study the ground for ourselves. It is useless, and worse than useless, to go to other people with vague phrases, general ideas, and a defective equipment of facts. But if from our study of the ground those four conclusions which I have mentioned have emerged,

¹ See Gore, “Bampton Lectures,” p. 168, etc.

shall we not have in them very powerful arguments with which to approach our fellow-laymen? If we are in a position to show that Missions are worked on scientific lines, that they have a bearing on—nay, are inseparably bound up with—the great political movements that are going on round about us and very closely touching the fortunes of the British Empire, if we can show that what they are engaged in is not mere proselytism, but the far greater task of Empire-building, and, lastly, that that Empire-building is proceeding along lines and towards a goal familiar to the Englishman's best political instinct, then we can go to the most materially-minded Churchman and say, "Here is a big concern—why are you not in it?" and we can, with some hope of success, show him why he ought to be in it, and what will be the consequences if he is not. For let us be very sure of this—that, as the writer says whom I have already quoted, "If the Christian West does not establish an Empire of Christ in the East, the non-Christian East will establish an anti-Christian Empire in the West."¹

One word in conclusion. Just as there is here this great duty of evangelising the heathen, which we have to do, so there is another duty, no less important, which we have not to leave undone—the duty towards our own people abroad. I have already alluded to it, and quoted the prudent words of the first Bishop of Calcutta. A tree is known by its fruits. Have the lives of so-called Christians, say, in Johannesburg, always been such as to commend

¹ Lucas, "Empire of Christ," p. 128.

Christianity to the Kaffirs? And to what purpose is the Gospel offered to Hindus and Mohammedans in India when they see our own churches in their midst stand empty, and the lives of Christians belie their profession? The two are really branches of the same work; we have only to think to see that they are inseparable. They require, no doubt, different gifts; but if the task of the Church is the founding of a universal Empire, then it is impossible to say that one branch is less important than the other. Yet, incredible as it may seem, the two are constantly placed in opposition to one another, and the charge of our own people has been generally neglected—indeed, is regarded by many even of the bishops and clergy at home as on a lower spiritual level, a mistake which is little creditable to their imagination, and which has the most unfortunate result that funds are provided with difficulty, and clergy with even greater difficulty, to undertake the work at all. This is an aspect of our religious life—notorious to all who have experience of the actual organisation of the work—which attracted the attention of the King during his visit to India; and in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury he gave expression to the earnest hope that the Church of England would always regard it as an especial part of her vocation to send her best men to minister to those who, often amid peculiar trials of their faith and in great spiritual isolation, are serving God in the great national work of the government of India. And what applies to India applies equally to the rest of the world, and to the non-official population no less than the official.

To sum up. The duty of evangelisation is laid upon the Church by the direct command of our Lord; is illustrated and enforced by the example of the Apostles; is inseparable from the central doctrines of Christianity as set forth by St. Paul; and is supported by the analogy of the kingdoms of the world. The analogy suggests to us—what the language of the New Testament has prepared us for—that the task is to be conceived as the founding of an Empire—the Empire of Christ; and that is a conception which we should expect would commend itself to the popular mind in our day. But it presupposes a complete change of attitude towards missionary problems, which must be viewed and handled no longer separately, but as a whole; while the task of evangelisation must no longer be regarded as something optional, but as obligatory upon the Church as a Church, and upon the churchman, both as the citizen of no mean city and as an individual standing in a certain personal relation to Christ, the King. For this task, and for the understanding of it, careful preparation is necessary on our own part if we are to get its claims generally recognised, and we must begin by an accurate study of the facts in order that we may commend it to others. Nor must we forget that Imperial Christianity includes Christian Empire, since there is no stronger evidence for Christianity than the lives lived by those who profess it.

I put these forward as suggestions for lines of approach to the heart and mind of the average laymen of our day.

NOTE (ON PAPER II.).

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF MISSIONS.

It is obvious that in these paragraphs the work is indicated which the Central Board of Missions might be called to do; and it is matter for deep satisfaction to find that a long forward step in that direction has since been taken. As one of the results of the National Mission the Archbishops in 1916 reminded the Board that it is its "special task . . . to see that [the] paramount obligation [of the missionary work of the Church abroad] holds its rightful place in the corporate life of the Church," and invited it to "present its own plans" to that end. The Board thereupon appointed a strong sub-committee to deal with the subject, and this body in the spring of 1918 presented its report ("The Missionary Work of the Church," S.P.C.K., 1918, 6d. net). It is not an overstatement to say that this report, if its recommendations are carried out, "is likely to mark an epoch in the history of our missions," and I sincerely hope that every reader of these pages who has not already seen it will study it, and lend all his influence to advancing the scheme outlined therein. It is possible to criticise it in detail. For example, I feel rather strongly that the quasi-independent functions assigned to the Advisory Council (pp. 29 and 38) may be dangerous in themselves and tend to undermine the position of the Central Board. If an Advisory Council is necessary (apart from the General Purposes Committee), it should at least be an organ of the

Central Board, not only appointed by, but responsible to, that body, and speaking in its name. This seems the more necessary in that the report appears to accept tacitly the attribution to the Archbishop of Canterbury of certain functions which (for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter here) have come to devolve upon him, and for the exercise of which in certain cases his responsibility is moral rather than constitutional. If that position is to be accepted, it is very important that his Advisory Council should be a constitutionally responsible body, advising him in behalf of the Church.

Again, that section of the report has been criticised which allots to the Central Board the function of receiving contributions for a Central Missionary Fund (pp. 58-61), and it has been suggested that this will make it "another Missionary Society". This criticism seems to be based on an inadequate appreciation of the recommendations of the report. It is provided that the Board is to possess consultative and advisory powers (p. 13), but there is nowhere a suggestion that it should possess administrative powers, and the sub-committee are at pains to make this very clear: "We consider that the administration of all funds for the work of the Church overseas should, as at present, be entrusted to the Missionary Societies of the Church. We desire to emphasise this point, as it effectively guards against the possibility of competition between the Central Board of Missions and the Societies" (p. 60); and it is recognised (p. 47) that "the Societies are the agents of the Church who are doing the actual work in the Mission field" (which is, perhaps, an overstatement, since the Societies are at present the agents, not of the Church, but of their subscribers—a fact which is apt to be forgotten, except when, as happened not long ago, the subscribers, for reasons of

their own, threaten to withdraw their subscriptions). It is strange that the clear language of the report should have been so misinterpreted. But it is obvious that a Board which it is intended "should represent and be able to express the mind of the Church of England so far as its work overseas is concerned, and should have as its aim the gradual building up of a policy, through the co-ordination of the policies of the Societies" (p. 13), would in practice become a mere debating club if it had no funds wherewith to further the policy it has built up; and it therefore seems to be an essential part of the scheme that the Central Board should be in a position to allocate grants "from time to time to such Societies or agencies as are already responsible for, or are willing to undertake responsibility for, any work overseas which the Central Board of Missions shall deem to be of special importance at the moment" (p. 61).

But, apart from such criticisms in detail, we may now congratulate ourselves upon the possession of a statesmanlike scheme which provides a constitutional position for the Church of England, for the daughter Churches, and for the Missionary Societies, and thus, for the first time in our history, furnishes a mechanism by means of which the Church can effectively exercise her corporate responsibility. This was never more important than at the present moment, when the problem of reconstruction after the war raises large questions of policy which are beyond the competence of even the most powerful Society, and which can only be effectively handled by the Church of England as a whole.

III.

CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.¹

It might seem presumptuous that one should come from London to address the Oxford Diocesan Mission Council on their own work, and, like preaching to the converted, that he should attempt to stimulate their zeal. But there is this much excuse for it, that we need to help one another from time to time to lift our eyes from our own particular work and try to fix them on the wider horizon and remind ourselves of the common goal of our particular efforts. And we need it the more, the more we are immersed in our particular efforts, and the more we are overwhelmed (as we must be especially at a time like this) by the difficulties—the almost desperate difficulties—that appear to beset them. After all, that is what we see happening in the world around us. “If we are to go on with the war,” men are saying, “if we are to make all the sacrifices and bear all the burdens, tell us, tell us again, keep on telling us—what we are fighting for”. And every time they are told, every time they are reminded how supremely worthy of the sacrifices are the ends for which they

¹ An address to the Oxford Diocesan Mission Council, Shrove Tuesday, 1918.

are fighting, they go back with redoubled energy and determination to the sacrifices and the burdens of these troubled days.

What, then, is the end for which the Church exists, and for which the Church must always be fighting if she is to be true to her mission? Nothing less than the redemption of mankind—of the human race as such; nothing less than the bringing back to God, redeemed, restored, forgiven, of that humanity which, through man's first disobedience, had gone, so it seemed, hopelessly astray; nothing less than the completion of the task of Christ Himself. How can it possibly be anything less, if the Church herself be the Body of Christ? There are two great conceptions which we need to keep firmly fixed in our minds if we are to think rightly of the Church and her mission and of the part we are to play ourselves—the physical reality of the solidarity of the human race, and its spiritual counterpart, the reality of the Body of Christ.

The solidarity of the human race. In the evolution of society the family is generally the first unit, and the individual slowly emerges from it, but emerges only to be re-absorbed in ever-enlarging relations. Individualism gives way to collectivism, nationalism to inter-nationalism or universalism. A feeling of this solidarity is one of the deepest-rooted instincts of mankind. As between man and man, it is that which makes us loathe cannibalism with every fibre of our being. As between nation and nation, it is that which makes us feel the full horror of war—for what is war but humanity tearing its own flesh? As

between God and man, it is that which makes us feel the fundamental justice of the law which visits the sins of the fathers upon their children. Mankind as God sees it, is *one*. And it is Christianity that has brought this instinct up into the regions of consciousness. For the Jew it was not so—"Come out from among them, and be ye separate," was the keynote of Jewish history.¹ For the Greek it was not so—for the Greek every language except his own was but the twittering of swallows, and his own language had no word for "humanity". For the Roman it was not so—with all his cosmopolitan imperialism and his indifference to colour, he never quite overcame his uneasy fear and abhorrence of the East. But for the Christian it is so, since Christ died upon the Cross, and, when He withdrew from the sight of the world, He left the Church, His body, to complete His work. There are two aspects of the Atonement that bear upon the point which I am putting before you. First, it was no act of crude substitution. He who hung upon the Cross was no mere representative or ambassador of humanity. He was Humanity itself. As God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, so the world was in Christ being recon-

¹ But in this matter Jewish history exhibits a remarkable evolution. "At the heart of Judaism, beneath its hard and often repelling exclusiveness, the idea of universal humanity was being matured. With the preaching of the prophets of the eighth century Judaism became essentially a social religion, a religion of humanity" (Butcher, "Harvard Lectures," p. 35). Cf. Renan, "Vie de Jésus," p. 48: "Ne séparant pas le sort de l'humanité de celui de leur petite race, les penseurs juifs sont les premiers qui aient eu souci d'une théorie générale de la marche de notre espèce".

ciled. But potentially as yet, and not actually. For—and this is the second point—although the Sacrifice was full, perfect, and sufficient, in the sense that nothing further was required or possible to add to its efficacy, it was and is incomplete until that which was potential has been made actual, until those to whom He gave power to become sons of God have become sons of God, until all men everywhere are made very members incorporate in His mystical Body, which is the Church, the blessed company of all faithful people—until the Church has thus become co-extensive with Humanity.

This, then, and nothing less than this, is the business which the Church must be about, for it is her *raison d'être*; and all other aims and tasks must be subordinated to it. Do we always sufficiently realise this? and does not our conception of the Church, and the vigour and intensity of our Church life, suffer somewhat through failure to do so? We are apt to be content with smaller conceptions, all true in part, but all falling short of the whole. According to our several temperaments we think of the Church as a garden of souls, or as a school of Christian character, or as a training ground of citizens of the kingdom of God—it is all these, but it is something more. We sometimes seem to regard it as a kind of debating room, where, with complete liberty of prophesying, each may maintain his individual thesis—as though the strife of tongues were the end of the Church's life. But if the end of the Church's life be the redemption of mankind, then the Church must be first and foremost a great fighting organisation. Liberty,

it is true, is an end in itself; but liberty within an organisation must be subordinated to the end for which that organisation exists. If the Church is to teach—and if the view which I am putting to you is correct, teaching is her primary function—she must know what she teaches, believe in it, be of one mind about it. Nor is this in itself an unreasonable claim. For Christianity is not a metaphysical system spun from the inner consciousness of the philosopher. It is an historical religion: it is that or it is nothing. “It is not of the least consequence to me,” said an enthusiastic Hindu to a member of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, “whether Jesus Christ was a real person or not; so long as I have the vision of the moral beauty which He sets before me, I do not care whether He lived or not”. There spoke your modernist. But for us Churchmen, either Christ was born of a pure Virgin (whose high prerogatives the Church by a divine instinct has from very early times perceived to be the strongest bulwark of the doctrine of the Incarnation), and lived, and died, and rose again the third day, leaving an empty tomb, or we are of all men most miserable. From these facts of history, embodied in the Creeds, and from them alone, has grown, as from its roots, the vast tree of Christian experience, branching out into Catholic doctrine and Catholic institutions. If you cut away the roots, you kill the tree. You cannot—as our Hindu friend would have us—make a religion out of experience alone: for the value of mere experience is relative only, it is valid *πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μόνον*, as Aristotle used to say. The Church, then, if it is to go out and teach,

can admit no dispute as to the facts—the root must hold firm. But, on the other hand, we shall make a great mistake if we put the experience on the same level with the facts—if, for example, we require of men in the East the same implicit assent to every doctrine and every institution and every rubric which Christian experience has evolved in the West, as we are bound to require to the fundamental facts of the Creeds. The effect of doing so can only be the opposite of what we desire—not to heighten the acceptability of doctrines and institutions, but to lower the acceptability of the Creeds. The missionary Church-builder must surely be content to lay the foundation, and leave his pupils to build—with such advice and warning as he may be able to give, but with no compulsion—to build their own superstructure to the design furnished by their own experience. If we would realise this, we should find that agreement as to fundamentals would be far more easily reached at home, as well as abroad; and a new unity would spring up which would be the stronger because it would be organic and not mechanical.

This, then, is the ideal which the Church must always set before itself, and to which it must subordinate all other ends—the redemption of mankind, of the whole human race. But we must set about its realisation in a practical spirit. For, taken in all its vastness, it is clearly unrealisable at any given moment, and we must have definite notions of our practical objective if we are not to waste our efforts. I say that it is impracticable at any given moment for the Church at home to go into all the world and

preach the Gospel to every creature. A good general, whose forces are limited, does not disperse them. There are half a dozen local successes which he might score if he chose ; but he would score them at the risk of weakening himself in the main theatre of operations, and so endangering the success of the campaign as a whole. So it is with the Church and the world : we must concentrate our forces in the main theatre. Now, what is that ?

Before the war, there were, as you know, people called " Little Englanders ". There are not so many of them now ; but there are still some left, and one of them said not long ago that it afforded him no satisfaction to look at the map of the British Empire. I cannot answer for the feelings of that particular gentleman ; but I suppose that, broadly speaking, the map of the British Empire will or will not afford us satisfaction according to our notion of the purpose for which that Empire exists, and the extent to which it is being fulfilled. For what purpose, then, do we believe that this great commonwealth of peoples which we call the British Empire exists ? There must of course be some underlying purpose. We did not set out deliberately to conquer it. Although our enemies regard us as hypocrites when we say so, it is literally true that it has very largely been thrust upon us against our conscious purpose, and that, as it now exists, it has grown up at random, and, as we say, by chance. But if we believe in the divine government of the world that is not the last word on the subject. If we believe in the divine government of the world, we believe that, though we may not be

able to trace the will of God in every detail, we can clearly see it working over long periods of history. And this Empire which has grown up in the last three centuries must have some part in His scheme, for with God there is no such thing as chance. God cannot be indifferent to anything. Everything that happens happens either in accordance with His will or contrary to it, for He allows things to happen contrary to His will. Now, if the British Empire has grown up contrary to God's will, the Little Englanders are right, and the sooner we are quit of it the better. But we have, surely, a robuster faith than that. We make bold to believe that, whatever our national and individual sins and shortcomings may be (and there is no denying them), God has given us this Empire, and given it to us for a purpose. And the purpose of God has been revealed in Christ. The Empire, then, has been given to us as a means to that great end for which Christ came into the world, the redemption of the human race. That is to say, it has been given to us to make it Christian. This is to be Britain's contribution to the redemption of mankind.

So far, therefore, we may regard the map of the Empire with satisfaction. But when we come to consider how far this divine purpose has been fulfilled through our co-operation, our satisfaction may perhaps dwindle somewhat. Let us bring the matter to the test of a concrete case, that of India, to which country this University has sent a Mission of its own. Let me read you a passage from an address delivered by Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes at Manchester in 1860. You know who Sir Herbert

Edwardes was—the man who saved the Punjab in the Mutiny, one of that noble band of Punjab men—the Lawrences, John Nicholson, Robert Montgomery, Donald McLeod—whose names will never be obliterated from the roll of Christian statesmen and soldiers. He has been describing British rule in India, and he leads up to this point. If we could get it recognised by a nucleus of Christian men that India is a trust, that she needs something more than the advantages of material civilisation, and that that something is religious truth, what, he asks, would be the result? “The English people,” he answers, “would resolve to do their duty . . . England . . . would set before her the noble policy of *first fitting India for freedom and then setting her free*. Believe me, this is not merely a glorious dream. . . . It may take years, it may take a century to fit India for self-government but it is a thing worth doing, and a thing that may be done. It is a distinct and intelligible Indian policy for England to pursue—a way for both countries out of the embarrassments of their twisted destinies. Then set it before you. Believe in it. Hope for it. Work up to it in all your public acts and votes, and conversations with your fellow-men. And ever remember that there is but one way by which it can be reached. . . . That is *Christianity*. Till India is leavened with Christianity she will be unfit for freedom. *When* India is leavened with Christianity she will be unfit for any form of slavery, however mild. England may then leave her, with an overthrown idolatry and a true faith built up; with developed resources; and with an enlightened and awakened

people no longer isolated in the East, but linked with the civilised races of the West. Yes, England may then leave her . . . freely, frankly, gladly, proudly leave the stately daughter she has reared to walk the future with a free imperial step. The world with all its brilliant histories would never have seen so truly great a close to a great national career. I firmly believe that this is what God meant England to do with India; and God grant that she may do it!"

Now this is not the time and I am not the person to talk Indian politics to you. But you read your newspapers, and you know what is going on in India. You know that the desire, deepening into a demand, for something more nearly resembling self-government is becoming more and more insistent. That demand has been created by British policy. I believe that the State may fairly claim that it has always been moving forward—at first, no doubt, unconsciously, but in the last half-century with steadily-growing consciousness and intention—until the other day, as you know, H.M. Government announced as their avowed policy "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". I believe that the State may fairly claim to have done its part. But what about the Church? Granted that Sir Herbert Edwardes was right in saying that only an India leavened with Christianity would be fit for freedom—and it does not lie with Christians to deny it—has the Church done her part? Has the process of leavening with Christianity kept pace (and

this is the least that we ought to be able to claim) with the growth of political institutions and the development of political self-consciousness? The Church of England is the National Church—the official organ of the religious ideals and aspirations of the nation: what, then, has she been doing in the century during which England has been in possession of India without dispute from any foreign Power? Take the test of numbers. The population of India in 1911 was 315,000,000 of whom 3,500,000 were Christians—just over one per cent.; and of those $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, 333,000 belonged to the Church of England. So that roughly ten per cent. of the Christians, and one per thousand of the population are what the Church of England had to show for a century's work. And if we enquire how the remaining ninety per cent. of the Christians were made up, we find that Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions accounted for 700,000 (more than twice the number of Anglicans), and that for a very considerable proportion of these America is responsible. Lutheran Missions—that is to say, Germans, Swiss, and Swedes—had a community of over 200,000. The Church of Rome numbered 1,400,000, and the Church of Rome is represented in India almost entirely by foreigners—Portuguese, Belgians, French, Italians, Germans. Now, if God gave India to England to christianise, is it satisfactory that we should allow ourselves to be outnumbered by foreigners in the proportion of nearly three to one? Numbers, of course, are not the only, or even the most effective, test. It may be truly claimed that it is under the protection of Christian England that

Christianity in India has attained its present dimensions—though we must not forget that the Syrian and Roman Churches were firmly established centuries before British rule began. You will note, too, that Edwardes did not say “Christianised,” but “leavened with Christianity”. Can we then claim that India is in any effective sense “leavened with Christianity”? Here, again, it is true that the political institutions which India aspires to make her own were evolved in Christian England in a Christian environment, and that the spirit of those institutions (which is perhaps making slower progress in India than the institutions themselves) was in its origin a Christian spirit. That is an answer which the statesman may give: but can it suffice for the churchman? He may in his turn point to the growing spirit of self-help, to the growing movement for social reform and for the elevation of depressed classes, as showing something of a Christian tendency—as being, at all events, movements that probably would not have taken place but for the force of Christian example. But can he claim that the Church of Christ in India is in any effective sense a leaven? Must we not rather confess that (excepting perhaps the Syrian Church in the south) it remains after all this time a foreign body—that Christianity in the popular mind remains fundamentally a foreign, a western, religion? And do we not see that not only is the Indian nationalist politician reacting against it as such, but even the Indian Christian is reacting against a western Church? In truth, I do not feel sure that we churchmen have done our part. In any case, it

must be admitted that there is a great deal more to be done before Edwardes's ideal is realised, and there is no time to be lost. The nationalist spirit is growing—and properly growing; the Indianisation of the Government will proceed more rapidly as time goes on; India is steadily drawing nearer to the goal which Great Britain has set before her. There is no true liberty but Christian liberty, and the Church has no time to lose if, when Indians come to govern themselves in accordance with Indian ideas, Indian ideas are to be Christian ideas.

In varying degrees it is the same all over the Empire, and the reason is partly that we British Christians—and especially we of the Church of England—have never really awakened to our responsibility, and partly because we have scattered our forces instead of concentrating them. For here, surely, within the British Empire—within this commonwealth of nations, free or to be enfranchised, the like of which the world has never seen before—here, surely, is for us the main theatre of operations, here is where Britain's missionary campaign must be fought and won, or Britain's vocation as a Christian commonwealth be for ever lost—in the British Empire. And this is the proposition which I submit to you to-day. Not that we should abate one whit from the Church's oecumenical purpose—the redemption of the whole human race, of humanity as such, which is confined within no artificial bounds of political geography; not that the Church should be content with anything less than the realisation of that purpose in all its height and breadth. But that in the im-

mediate task which, under the Divine Providence, we find ready to our hand—the winning of the British Empire for Christ—we see the brick which we, as a Christian people, are to build into the Temple of God, the means that have been divinely given us of realising the greater, higher purpose of the Church as a whole; and that from the greater, higher purpose, we draw our constant inspiration for our own immediate task.

And never did we need that inspiration more than now. For we come to our task sorely hampered by the war. The war has played havoc with the mechanism of missionary enterprise. The disappearance of German and Austrian organisations from the field, for what must necessarily be an indefinite period, has made great gaps in the work which it has been impossible adequately to fill. Our own work has in large measure been broken up or closed down. Money has indeed been forthcoming, to an almost miraculous degree. But men have been a diminishing quantity. Hundreds of missionaries—who have felt that they could best serve God in this crisis by serving the nation of which God has made them citizens—have left their immediate work (and I do not think the country knows how much it owes to them), and the supply of new recruits has been cut off at the base. But, besides all this, we cannot help feeling that Christianity itself has undergone some eclipse. The prestige of what we call Christian civilisation, but what is really only western civilisation, has been lowered. It seems, indeed, to have been the deliberate policy of Germany in East Africa

during the war to lower the white man's prestige. And, whether there has been intention or not, it is a fact that in India and elsewhere the effect of German methods of warfare has been to draw all white men into a common condemnation, and to cause a decided reaction of East against West, and *pro tanto* against the Christianity which we have so shortsightedly clothed in western raiment. And all around us, this old civilisation which had seemed to us as solid as the material frame of things itself—the old ideals and hopes and aspirations are breaking down, crumbling away, sinking in night and gross darkness; while in face of the new problems, that are pressing upon her at home, the Church herself seems at times to have lost her bearings—to be beating the air and fighting with shadows. But let us lift up our eyes to our high purpose and take heart. There, on the far horizon, on the distant mountain tops, shines the eternal Light which knows no setting.

IV.

INDIA AND THE PERSONAL CHRIST.¹

I AM going to ask you to consider an aspect of our Empire which we are only too ready to forget—that of our own individual responsibility as men, as ordinary men in the street, not as officials or statesmen, towards it. Of course, we have a national responsibility as well; and when we have brought our constitutional influence, such as it is, to bear upon our statesmen and their policy, we are rather inclined to think that we have done our whole duty, and that there our responsibility ends. As regards India, I am afraid we do not go even so far as that. We leave India to be governed by experts, and we take very little thought about it ourselves. Yet that is really the point—where the influence of our public policy ceases—at which the most important part of our responsibility begins. After all, what we can do for India through our statesmen and through our policy is, from the Christian point of view as distinct from the political or the administrative point of view, comparatively little. If you want to know how little, I would recommend you to read a book like that of Mr. Longridge's "History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta," and I

¹An address at the Annual Meeting of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, June 19, 1900.

think you will find it very depressing reading. You will find from it that the effect of, say, fifty years of British administration in India has been to destroy a great deal that was bad, but a great deal also that was good, and to put nothing in its place. We have pulled down, but we have not rebuilt. Let me read to you some words written by an Indian gentleman on this subject :—

“There is no more tragic event under the sun than the death of a nation, and this consists in the destruction of the beliefs, institutions, and national peculiarities that give it an individual character. This awful tragedy is now going on in India. The old religion is dying ; the old morality is dying ; the bonds of custom and tradition, which are the bones and sinews of the social organism, are dissolving ; there is death and decomposition all around. For all this the secular spirit of the educational system is responsible. The crisis is serious : the destiny of a nation is at stake. Mere let-aloneist attitude will not do ; something must be done to replace that which is passing away. If an attempt is made to face the crisis with boldness, with promptitude, and in right earnest, well and good ; if not, matters will soon become still more hopeless, the reins will have been thrown upon the necks of the horses, and the last hope of reform without revolution will be gone.”
 (“History of the O.M.C.,” p. 118.)

That is a specimen, and not, I think, an altogether unfair specimen, of what serious-minded men of all races and religions are saying. And, though there may be a certain amount of exaggeration in the de-

scription, there is matter here for serious consideration, even for anxiety; but, if we will only rise to a sense of our individual responsibility, and give up looking for the Government to do what we ought to do ourselves, not cause for alarm. For if the result of our administration in India is disappointing, we must blame not Government, but ourselves, and not Government but we ourselves must put it right. What is wrong is that we have not done our share. We must remember that in India the limitations on the religious influence of the State have been prescribed by circumstances over which we had no control. Strange as is to the Eastern mind the conception of a secular State, it is nevertheless a fact that only a State which is neutral in religious matters, that is, secular, can possibly govern India as a whole, with its tangled mass of religions and races. And if the State is secular, the education which it imparts must be secular too. I read the other day in a recent biography of a convert from Hinduism to the Scotch Church these words:—

“European literature and philosophy and history cannot share with Hinduism a lodgment in the same mind. The one must, of necessity, destroy the other. Had the intelligent natives and the Government apprehended this, it is not to be believed that they would have made religious neutrality a basis of their educational system.”¹

I fail to see for my part what else they could have done; but whatever might have been done then, one thing is quite certain, and that is that we cannot turn

¹“Life of Lal Behari Day,” Preface by Dr. T. Smith, p. xii.

back now. We can develop and extend our system, and we can work up parts of it which have been neglected; but it must remain in principle what it is, frankly English and frankly secular. And as such its religious and moralising influence must be practically *nil*. I say "practically" and not "absolutely" *nil*, because the work done by the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten at the Rajkumar College shows what can be done if you can get the right man and the right conditions. Unfortunately, in this case the conditions and the man were almost unique. It remains true that over large areas of population, and even in the small and select educational centres, the religious and moral influence of the State education must be very small. You know that since the Education Commission of 1883 an attempt has been made to teach the elements of morality by means of moral text-books, in some Government schools. I think that an attempt like that was foredoomed to failure. To begin with, for the last 2000 years and more philosophers have been trying to find what is the ultimate basis of morals, and you have only to pick up the latest handbook on the subject to see that they are no nearer agreement as to what that basis is now than they ever were; and how can you teach what you are not agreed upon among yourselves? There is no secure basis of morals outside religion, and religion is *ex hypothesi* tabooed in Indian education. Then again, even if there were such a basis outside religion, it is very difficult to see how you can make men moral simply by teaching them morals. You can analyse morality; you can de-

monstrate to men that immorality is unnatural, or unreasonable, or inexpedient, according to your point of view; but you cannot make them moral by demonstration. You cannot supply them with the spring of virtuous action. And yet if you read a book like that of Mr. Longridge's, you will see that that is the one thing needful for the educated classes of India, the one thing the absence of which is bringing India to the brink of a grave moral crisis. The mind of the educated Hindu is a most remarkable product of latter-day civilisation—I am speaking of the average man, and especially of the average Bengali, who has received an English education. It is not profound, but it is incredibly quick and subtle. It has a natural instinct for metaphysics. But its good qualities are reduced to impotence by one vice which is fatal to philosophy and to all honest thinking—the vice of curiosity. Let me read to you a description of the Bengali from Mr. Longridge's "History":—

"The Bengali is always ready to talk about religion—nothing is easier than to get him on to a religious subject; but then one discovers, to one's great disappointment, that his interest in it is merely intellectual and superficial, and that nothing is further from his thoughts than to accept any responsibility for such truth as he is led to acknowledge."

There you have it. The problem which the Oxford Mission is solving, and for the solution of which you and I are individually responsible, is to supply that type of mind with the spring of virtuous action.

Government cannot do it ; if it is to be done at all, we must do it, and that is where the man in the street comes in.

The remedy is, of course, the Christian religion, brought home to the educated native as the Oxford Mission knows how to bring it home. I have seen it discussed whether the Hindu mind is best approached from the metaphysical standpoint or from the moral standpoint. With the utmost respect for those who are represented as having embarked upon this discussion, I cannot think that it is a very profitable one. Metaphysics and ethics are distinct branches of the science of human thought ; but they are distinct only in analysis. But the problem of effecting a conversion is not a problem of analysis, but a problem of synthesis—a problem of constructive psychology. We are not concerned with analysing life, but with living ; and when it comes to living, metaphysics and ethics are one and indistinguishable. I believe it is the clear recognition of this fact in the Christian religion—I am speaking, of course, quite apart from the truths of revelation—it is the clear recognition of this fact which gives to the Christian religion its great advantage over every other system of religion ; and to seek to go behind it is not only to double the difficulty of the task, but actually to throw away the characteristic superiority of Christianity. For you find that synthesis of metaphysics and ethics most remarkably exemplified in that conception which lies at the very root of the Christian religion—the conception of Personality, and above all, of course, in the Personality of the

historical Christ. We lay increasing stress upon that point of view nowadays, but it has not always been so. There have been metaphysical ages, and there have been ethical ages in the evolution of the Christian religion. And yet if you look at the great Christian thinkers all down the history of the Church, you will find that, whatever their attitude to metaphysics and morals may have been, it is always the historical and personal Christ, the personality of our Lord, which has been of primary importance to them. That is the keynote of St. Paul's doctrine; it is the element of continuity which runs beneath the progressive phases of St. Augustine's conversion; it is the thought of thoughts in Pascal. Those who are curious in such matters may have observed at the end of last month the 200th anniversary of the birth of that remarkable religious and philosophical phenomenon, Count von Zinzendorf, the founder, as he may be called, of the Moravian Church. If we inquire how it was that in an age so singularly unspiritual as that in which he lived he was able to exercise so far-reaching an influence beyond the bounds of his own community, we find that it was just for this reason, that he put in the forefront of his teaching the historical personal Christ, and that he was, as one of his biographers has said, "a forerunner of that tendency which seeks to comprehend Christ historically and not metaphysically."

As a corollary to this view it may be said, and, of course, it often has been said, that as the essence of Christianity is not a metaphysical abstraction, nor even an ethical abstraction—not Absolute Being nor

Absolute Good—but a Person, so the creed of a Christian is not a series of metaphysical or moral propositions, but a life—the life of Christ. And herein, as it seems to me, lies the secret of the success which the Oxford Mission is slowly but surely winning—that its appeal to the educated classes of India is not an appeal only or mainly to the intellectual or moral faculties of their hearers, but that it is the appeal of personality and of a life—a complete Catholic Christian life—to the whole man. This is of the very greatest importance in dealing with India, because what India needs is personality. The great defect of the character which Hinduism engenders is lack of personality. Not only does all pantheism tend to weaken the sense of individuality, but the peculiar form of pantheism which the Hindu religion takes annihilates it altogether, regarding it simply as an illusion, to be finally dispelled only by the complete suppression of the will to live and lead a separate existence. Hinduism, I believe, can only be met by a rehabilitation, and a constant reassertion, of that conception of personality. Then again, probably as a result of this defect, the Hindu mind is profoundly unhistorical; it seems never to have been touched by what Mommsen calls the Holy Spirit of History. The result of this in its attitude towards Christianity is illustrated by the remark of a Bengali gentleman which Mr. Longridge quotes: “It is not of the least consequence to me whether Jesus Christ was a real person or not; so long as I have the vision of the moral beauty which He sets before me I do not care whether He lived or not”. That

attitude is fatal to Christianity, and it can only be altered by a constant appeal, not to metaphysics or to ethics, but to the Christian life, which is possible only because Christ did live and die. It has been made a reproach to our Church that she has refused to recognise that mental attitude as compatible with her claims. Professor Max Müller has represented this point of view in the second series of his most interesting "*Auld Lang Syne*". You read a good deal in Mr. Longridge's book about the Brahmo Somaj. The Brahmo Somaj is a theist sect of Hinduism which attracted some attention thirty or forty years ago, chiefly owing to the piety of one of its leading members, Keshub Chunder Sen. I need not enter into the details of its tenets; it is sufficient to say that it was eclectic, and therefore devoid of a sound philosophical basis. What is important about it is that it was deeply interested in Christianity, and that it made certain overtures to our Church; and Professor Max Müller has severely criticised our missionaries because they refused to take the out-stretched hand, as he calls it, which the Brahmo Somaj proffered them. Such an accusation, if it could be substantiated, would be a very serious one. But I do not think it can be substantiated. Just consider the basis on which the Brahmo Somaj was prepared to negotiate, so to speak. You gather from Max Müller that it amounted to this: first, the recognition of one God and the disavowal of vulgar polytheism; secondly, "an ineradicable belief in the substantial identity of the eternal element in God and man," which,

he says, "a man like Athanasius might easily have brought them to call the divine Sonship of man"; thirdly, "practical religion saturated with Christian sentiments"; fourthly, selections from the New Testament, "only leaving out the historical passages". When I add that the founder of the Somaj, in his view of the Deity and of the relation between the human and the divine, had never yielded an inch of his old Hindu convictions, you will, I think, agree with me that towards a hand outstretched on those terms the only possible attitude was a regretful but firm *non possumus*. But Max Müller could not see it, and the Brahmo Somaj could not see it. So here, I say, you have a difficulty which cannot be met by any appeal to metaphysics or ethics, but only by such an appeal as the Oxford Mission makes to the Christian life. Christianity is a life.

And this brings me to the third reason why the point of view which I have been emphasising is of such paramount importance for India. For Hinduism is a life also. Mr. Longridge, in his last chapter, gives a very interesting account of some aspects of modern Hinduism. He tells you of the incomprehensibility, the intangibility, of Hindu doctrine. It is vague and shadowy. You cannot lay hold of it—indeed, you can do without it and still be a good Hindu. Yet the Hindu is the most religious person in the world. A convert from that religion has said that "he gets up from his bed religiously, anoints his body religiously, washes religiously, dresses religiously, sits religiously, stands religiously, eats religiously, drinks religiously, sleeps religiously,

learns religiously, remains ignorant religiously, and becomes irreligious religiously." You may say that a religion like that is external, and ceremonial, and idolatrous; you may even say, as has been said, that it is not a religion at all, but only a social system; but the fact remains that, such as it is, it is indissolubly interwoven with every smallest detail of the life of the Hindu. It is, in fact, his life; and if you are to convert him it can only be done by putting another life in its place, and that the life of the historical Christ.

That is what the Oxford Mission is doing; that is the work for which we, as men in the street, are individually responsible; a work which Government cannot do. I alluded just now to Keshub Chunder Sen, and I cannot do better than quote, in conclusion, some words of his, which, while they need not mislead us as to his real position, are, I think you will agree with me, very remarkable words:—

"If you wish to secure the attachment and allegiance of India it must be through spiritual influence and moral suasion. And such, indeed, has been the case in India. You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered, and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you, is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty Prophet to conquer and hold this vast empire. None but Jesus ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it."

V.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.¹

AMONGST much that is not very edifying in the history of our Church during the last twenty years, nothing is more encouraging than the growing sense of the importance of her work abroad and of her corporate responsibility for that work. It is well known that the Foreign Missions of the Church of England are organised, worked, and maintained by private societies which owe their origin and continued existence to individual enterprise. They are supported by high ecclesiastical dignitaries, but they are in no sense organs of the Church. The Church neither controls them nor accepts any responsibility for them; and if any one of them came to an end for want of private support the Church has nothing to put in its place. Since the creation of the Central Board of Missions an advance has been made on this anomalous state of things, and when the Board has consolidated its position and possesses funds of its own, enabling it to intervene effectively, the Church will have gone some way towards the practical realisation of her duty.

I do not propose to discuss the problem in this

¹ An address given at St. Martin-in-the-fields, October 26, 1917.

aspect, but to go back to something much more elementary and fundamental. For if, since the great societies came into existence at the end of the eighteenth century, the Church of England has not made more progress in this respect, it is surely because the mass of her members have not grasped—do not even now sufficiently grasp—certain fundamental truths; and I want to ask you to consider why it is that the foreign work of the Church must be a responsibility of the Church herself; what is the nature of that responsibility; and what it means for us as individual Churchmen. We live in days when language is rather loosely used. Perhaps it never was otherwise. But in our own day the pace at which we live, the slipshod journalism with which we are flooded and the general conditions of society seem to have intensified the evil. Nor has the Church escaped it. And here there is a particular reason for it. The fixity of our formularies has bred in us an habitual use of words about whose meaning we have ceased to think, or which we have so far emptied of meaning that they have become metaphors and nothing more. What else, for example, is the term “Church Militant”? It was perhaps natural that we were slow to realise what is meant by “the nation at war”: for we kept a professional navy and army precisely in order that the nation might not be at war, and the idea was necessarily unfamiliar. But we have talked about “the Church Militant,” “soldiers of Christ,” and so forth all our lives from baptism onwards, and how many of us know what we mean, or mean anything at all, by it? There is

no greater need in the present day than for us—laity especially—to rethink our religious terminology, and the conceptions which lie behind it, in the light of our Christian experience. What do these terms and conceptions mean for *me*? Is there anything corresponding to them in my experience? and, if not, does the fault lie with the terms or with me?

Now, what do we mean when we speak of the Church as the Body of Christ? What do we understand when we hear ourselves assured that we are “very members incorporate in His mystical Body”? It is, of course, a mystery. But there is a clue to the mystery; and it lies in the conception of the solidarity of the human race.

That is a conception with which we are becoming increasingly familiar. Natural science, with its insistence on the importance of the type and the unimportance of the individual, is full of it. In our social and political organisation we are thinking now less and less of the part and more and more of the whole. Individualism is giving place to collectivism, nationalism to internationalism. The conception of the human race as a whole is becoming more familiar to us.

“For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth’s electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity’s vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.”

Theologically, St. Paul expresses it in an epigram when he says, “As in Adam all died, even so in Christ shall all be made alive”. And this conception of the

solidarity of the human race explains the Atonement. It was to redeem the human race as such—to bring humanity back to God, renewed and perfected—that Christ came into the world. It was humanity that in Adam disobeyed and died : it was humanity that in Christ was obedient ; and as God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, so the world was in Christ being reconciled. But potentially as yet, not actually. It was to be made actual for each one of us by personal union with and incorporation in Himself. And this union of Christ with those so incorporated in Him we call the Church, which is thus literally His Body, alive with His Spirit, and with His Blood running in its veins. Thus it seems to be in the nature of things that when He withdrew from the sight of the world He should leave behind Him this part of Himself, to be, as it were, the nucleus of the redeemed humanity—"the blessed company of all faithful people," which is to become actually co-extensive with mankind. And thus we may truly say that the Church, in so far as she is performing her functions, *is* Christ.

Now consider the bearing of all this, which at first sight may seem remote, on the work of the Church abroad. First of all, if the Church is Christ, the purpose of the Church is nothing less than the purpose of Christ : no partial purpose—not merely the salvation of the individual soul, not merely the redemption of the parish, or the diocese, or the nation—but nothing less than the redemption of the whole human race, of humanity as such. She cannot stop short of that ; and in so far as she does—in so far as

she is content with the partial task, and in her intentness on the neighbouring slum, the neighbouring factory, the neighbouring public-house, loses the perspective of the whole unredeemed humanity—just so far the Church is not fulfilling her purpose, and the Church is not Christ. And therefore the Church as a whole can never leave the responsibility for her world-wide work to any society or any individual. Nor, on the other hand, can any individual member divest himself of his own responsibility. For though there must, of course, for practical purposes be a division of labour in the Church, as in every other organisation, yet, ideally—that is to say, for the purpose of the great final cause of the Church's existence—the task of the whole is also the task of the part. And so far as the individual forgets that task or treats it as a work of supererogation or leaves it to someone else—so far as he is not, to the measure of his ability, by his work, his prayer, his thought, or his money, carrying forward the work of the redemption of humanity—just so far he is not a true member of the Body of Christ.

These two propositions seem to me to flow by an inexorable logic from the conception of the Church which we have been considering. But how many of us realise them as a fundamental part of our churchmanship? I shall have occasion to return again to that point. In the meantime, let us carry the present line of thought out into the mission field itself, and see if it throws light on the actual execution of the Church's task.

First of all, then, we shall note that we are not

merely to ask non-Christians to read the Bible or to hear it read ; we are to invite them to become very members incorporate in the mystical Body of Christ. In popular thought of Foreign Mission work the actual preaching of the Gospel sometimes occupies too prominent a place. It is, in fact, only a means to an end—the most important of the means employed, no doubt, and to us English Churchmen indispensable—but still not an end in itself. The end is the building up of the Body of Christ. Our eyes must be fixed on the Church and the race. It is not the conversion of the individual that is the final objective—this, too, is apt to be too prominent in popular thought—but the redemption of the race. True, the individual is an end in himself—Christ died for each one. True, we can only get at the race through the individual. But if our attention is too much fixed on him we tend to let the trees blind us to the wood—to substitute the counting of heads for the building of the Church, to forget the empire of Christ in the making of proselytes.

And this relegation of the individual to the second place involves no loss of his individuality. That is another most important lesson to be learned. Christianity is not Pantheism. By incorporation in the Body of Christ individuality is not lost but found. Christ is the summing up of all individuals, and each reaches his own perfection in Him in whom is neither Jew nor Greek nor barbarian, not because He is none of them but because He is all of them. To the Englishman Christ is the perfection of the Englishman ; but to the Indian the perfection of the

Indian, and to the African the perfection of the African—a black Christ (why should we shrink from the notion?), satisfying the black man's needs and the black man's aspirations. And thus the Church which is to be built up must be indigenous. It must be no imported foreign product, but must grow up from within the consciousness of each people, taking root deep down in their being. Perhaps, indeed, we should do well to avoid that metaphor of "building," although it is St. Paul's, and use another of his—that of "planting". For the Church is an organism that grows, not a mechanism that is constructed; and the plant, though in kind it will be the same, will vary with the soil and the environment.¹

And, again, the Body of Christ has not only life

¹ An interesting example of an indigenous Church is the Syrian community of southern India, which in 1911 numbered some 728,000 souls, of whom 413,000 belong to the Roman communion, and the remaining 315,000 maintain their independence, and are in communion with the Armenians and Copts. Whether or not Christianity was introduced into India by St. Thomas, it is certain that this community has existed continuously since the third century, and Christianity was thus indigenous in India at least three centuries before the birth of Mohammed, and eleven centuries before Nanak founded Sikhism, a fact that should be borne in mind when Christianity is attacked as a European import, and when a tendency is observed to treat the religious neutrality of the British Government as meaning the toleration of all religions except Christianity. The Syrian Church has shown great tenacity, but little activity, until, in recent times, it came into contact with the C.M.S., whose work in that direction is well-known. More recently still a connection has been established with the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and an interesting account of Church life in southern India to-day will be found in the preface, by the Superior of that Mission, to "The Eucharistic Life" (Longmans, 1918), who has formed the opinion that "here is a Church whose manifest destiny it [is] to become the nucleus of a national Church for India" (p. xvi.).

within itself; it has also liberty of self-direction, because it is directed by the mind of Christ. We are contending for the life and liberty of the Church at home: do not let us forget that they must be no less its distinguishing marks abroad. The Church that is to be planted must be self-governing. The "Foreign Mission," propped up from without, financed and guided and governed by the white missionary, is no Church if it stops at that point. The Native Church must grow into freedom—freedom to make its own mistakes, freedom to prove all things and cleave to that which is good of its own choice. The history of evolution is full of false starts; but in the long run the divine purpose prevails. The Body of Christ, wherever it may be, must be self-governing. That is a truth which surely has a very special appeal for us Englishmen. In these days we are prouder than ever of our Empire. Well, it is built upon faith in the principle of self-government. The political mistake which England made in 1775, please God we never shall make again, though we may shortly have to face problems of self-government that may greatly tax our faith and our statesmanship. Do not let us have less faith and less statesmanship in conducting the affairs of the Church at home and abroad. To know *when* to withdraw the guiding and controlling hand, and to dare to do it—to have the unselfishness to do it—let that be the supreme test of our churchmanship no less than of our statesmanship.

Once more the Body of Christ contains within itself the power of reproduction. It is everywhere and always reproducing itself. It is, as we have said, to

become actually co-extensive with mankind, and it fulfils that task by continually reproducing itself in every land, and the instinct or impulse to do so is the proof of its vitality. The Church, then, must everywhere be a missionary Church, and in proportion as it is that, in the same proportion is it really alive. And that is no less true of the Church abroad than of the Church at home. The seed which is being planted must in turn shed its own seed: it is by the Church in India and Africa—indigenous, self-governing and missionary—that the peoples of India and Africa must be made very members incorporate in the mystical Body of the Son of God.¹

We may claim, therefore, that the conception of the Church which we have been considering—familiar as a phrase, but not always realised in its meaning and its implications—throws a light not only on the theory of our churchmanship but also upon some of the practical problems that are pressing for solution in the mission field. In India and China the claim of the Native Churches to a relaxation of foreign tutelage and to an increased measure of self-direction is becoming more and more insistent; the growth of nationalist feeling in India, and to some extent even in parts of Africa, is becoming amongst the more educated an obstacle to Christianity regarded as a foreign import; while in parts of India the mass movements among the depressed classes towards Christianity are numerically beyond the capacity of the white missionary to cope with, and are making

¹ Recent evangelising movements on the part of native communities in India and China show a remarkable awakening to this fact.

the development of the missionary instinct in the Native Church a more and more urgent necessity. Increasingly everywhere it is becoming plain in practice that only a Church that is indigenous, self-governing and missionary is equal to the problems that are pressing upon us, and that it is by planting and tending the growth of such a Church that we at home must discharge our responsibility.

But if the duty of the Church at home is to plant the Church abroad, we are at once faced with another question—What Church? For though the Body of Christ is ideally one, and to think of it otherwise is to be guilty of a contradiction in terms, yet what we see around us is our unhappy divisions—divisions which are becoming so scandalous that a distinguished Indian Christian has recently warned us that India may prefer to learn her Christianity from the Young Men's Christian Association. And India may be right! Anyway, the question is not to be put by. Whether or not Christendom is really as much divided on fundamentals as we seem to like to think, it is certain that directly its sections begin to teach, they teach different things. Now, what are we going to teach? What conception of the Church are we going to offer to the non-Christian as the home of salvation? Is it the Church of England, or the Church of Rome, or one of the "Free Churches"? We may be dealing with peoples who have never had a history, or, again, with peoples whose civilisations were old when Israel came out of Egypt. Are we to teach them our schisms as well as our heresies? Is it desirable, or legitimate, or even possible, to

impose upon them from without a conception which is the product of eighteen centuries of evolution along lines that are totally strange to them? Must we not rather go back to the beginning, and, distinguishing in this wonderful edifice of the Church as we love it now, what is essential and universal from what is accidental to the particular time and place and society, be content to lay that as a foundation, leaving the Native Church to build its own superstructure, following its own design, and making—as I have said—its own mistakes, or at all events not ours? And if that is to be our attitude, then we laymen must set to work to examine ourselves and think for ourselves, abandoning the fatal habit of leaving to others questions which vitally concern ourselves, and by which our own churchmanship stands or falls. If this task of Church-building or Church-planting is not a matter for bishops alone, nor for clergy alone, nor for societies, but for the Church as a whole, and if the Church is not someone else but just you and I, then, before you and I can set about it at all, we must have our own answers to these questions: What do we, as members of the Church of England, really mean by the Church? What do we really mean by terms like continuity, the apostolic succession, the historic episcopate, the regularity of orders, the validity of the sacraments? What do they mean for us practically? What are we doing now which we should do differently, or leave undone, if we defined these terms differently? In order to answer we must think. We have been learning in the last three years that in order to deal effectively with great practical

problems of war and policy we must think things out ; and we need to apply that lesson to our churchmanship. The Church of England cannot do her work abroad, or anywhere else, unless we know what we mean by the language we use and are prepared to carry that meaning into action. We are to offer to the non-Christian world the Church as the home of salvation, and is there any more beautiful phrase in our religious terminology than that? We think of all that the home means to us—the place where all those conventions with which we fence ourselves about in the outer world are laid aside ; where barriers are broken down and soul touches soul ; where unrealities melt away, and the real self expands. And we think of our Mother the Church—who bore us again, of water and the Spirit ; who watches over us through all our years, who has her divinely-appointed ministrations for all our needs, and her heavenly medicines for all the diseases of our souls ; who sends us forth upon our last journey, fortified by her rites, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the name of angels and of archangels and of all the saints of God ; and who does not desert us even then, but has comfort for the “spirits in prison”. That is the picture of the home of our salvation. But there are two aspects of that picture. There is a positive and inclusive — “O all-embracing mercy, O ever-open door”—and there is the negative and exclusive: *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*—outside the Church no salvation. Which is the Church of England going to offer to the non-Christian world? The Church of England does not know. It was the clash of those

points of view that produced the Kikuyu controversy. Proceeding from the same premisses two men may reach contrary conclusions. But—and this is the point—both cannot be right. The laws of the mind will have their way. The individual who affirms a proposition denies its contrary, and the *principium contradictionis* is also the *principium stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiae*. Therefore on individual and Church alike is laid the bounden duty of a decision and a choice. Sooner or later, sooner rather than later, we have to make up our minds which we really mean, and to choose, every man for himself, between the affirmative or inclusive and the negative or exclusive. And in making our choice, let us remember that the end of thought is action, and the end of action life; and the test of practical truth is whether it makes action more easy or more difficult. That which hinders life; that which depresses vitality; that which sets up barriers instead of breaking them down; that which lays burdens on men's shoulders instead of easing them—cannot be true. There must be something wrong with the premisses or the reasoning: we must go back and think it out again. And we must get to work quickly. The problems of the Mission field are pressing, they will not wait. The issue will be forced locally if the Church at home will not make up her mind.

And there is another reason why we must get to work quickly. Never was the need of the world for Christianity greater than it is now. We are sometimes asked whether the war does not show that Christianity has failed. The answer is of course not

that it has failed, but that it has not been tried. What is wanted is not less Christianity but more Christianity. Everywhere men are calling out for freedom—the smaller nations of the world, and whole peoples that have been incorporated in our own Empire, are asking for an increasing measure of self-direction; and it is what we are fighting for—the right of national self-determination. Well, there is no true freedom but Christian freedom. It is the licence of the unregenerate will of man that has brought us to our present pass: it is only the redemption of that will—through obedience to Him whom to serve is to reign—that can restore men and nations to their lost estate, the glorious liberty of the children of God. That is what we have to learn ourselves and enable the peoples of Asia and Africa to learn. It is not Christianity that has failed, but Western civilisation—nominally Christian, but in fact organising itself apart from Christ and His Spirit. We can no longer offer that to India, or Africa, or China. I read the other day some remarks by British officers on a part of Africa whose problems are familiar to those acquainted with the foreign work of the Church. They analysed very acutely all the religious and political factors that may, after the war, create a very uncomfortable situation. And what was their panacea? Secular education. Secular education! It is for this, then, that one half of the world is being deluged with blood—that when the other half of it asks for bread it may be given a stone! Everywhere men are asking for bread, and it is for the Church, who alone can give it, to see

that they get it. And, believe me, it is going to be no easy task. The Kingdom of God is not coming by any waving of a wand, either at home or abroad. It is going to be an uphill fight everywhere, a fight in which you and I must play our part if it is to end in victory. And the Church of England must see to her weapons—discard what is obsolete, and polish up what is rusty. Above all must she think—have done with the spirit of compromise and evasion which has for too long been accounted the highest statesmanship—get a mind of her own, know what it is, and knowing, act. It is to no purpose that she nurse herself in easy dreams of some supposed vocation—to reconcile Protestantism and Catholicism or what not—if, when the fields are white unto harvest and the bloom is on the grapes, others are acting while she is dreaming. “A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first and said, Son, go work to-day in my vineyard. He answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented and went. And he came to the second and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir; and went not. Whether of the twain did the will of his father?”¹

¹ Since this was written two important forward steps have been taken. See Appendices A and B.

VI.

UNION IN THE MISSION FIELD.¹

I AM very glad that you have chosen this subject for discussion—for several reasons. *First*, because it is important that a movement like this should from the first concern itself with concrete questions, if it is not to lose itself in sand. *Secondly*, because this question of union in the Mission field seems to me to be emphatically a layman's question. In support of this opinion—which may perhaps be criticised on the ground that it draws an unreal distinction between cleric and layman—I should like to quote some words of the Bishop of Madras: "There is among many of the leaders of all denominations a very earnest desire for union, but what is now needed is a strong body of public opinion among the rank and file to enable, if not to compel, the leaders to go forward. To a large extent therefore, this is a layman's question. Doubtless there are certain aspects of it which only theological experts can rightly deal with; but the driving force that

¹ An address delivered in connection with the Church of England Laymen's Missionary Movement in the Deanery of Kensington, in the autumn of 1913.

is necessary to bring about any serious movement towards unity must come from the laity and not the clergy." If the Bishop had been speaking after, instead of before, the Kikuyu controversy, I think he would have put it even more strongly. The *Third* reason is that this question, which seems to have come to many people as somewhat of a surprise, is a very actual question which is forced upon us at home from every part of the Mission field itself; so that the form in which it first presents itself is not so much, What are we here going to do to promote union? as, Are we here going to allow our prepossessions—prepossessions which at the worst are prejudices, and at the best are conceptions evolved in a purely European environment—Are we going to allow these prepossessions to hinder the movement towards union that is actually taking place under stress of circumstances in the field itself?—a question to which, when every qualification has been made, it is difficult to give more than one answer. And *lastly* because we are here a collection of men of all parties. Now, what makes the problem a particularly difficult one for the Church of England is the fact that its missionary policy is not the policy of the Church as such but of the different societies which in fact conduct the missionary campaign, and which are all more or less strongly identified with particular parties in the Church. And it is obvious that so long as the societies and their supporters remain behind their entrenchments no progress towards union will be made. But here we have a roomful of men of all shades of opinion, met together on the common

ground of prayer, desiring, surely, to give and take in discussion, and so to feel the way towards common action not only with one another, but also with those outside our own communion. Here, surely, if anywhere is the place where we ought to be able, as the Bishop of Madras asks, "to create the atmosphere which can make unity possible".

That is, however, not to say that the subject is an easy one: on the contrary, it covers so much ground and goes so deep that it is exceedingly difficult to handle, and especially to handle briefly. We must begin with something in the nature of a definition. What is this unity which we are to discuss this evening? Now, fortunately, we are not called upon to inquire what is ecclesiastical unity in itself—we should need not one such meeting but a great many, before we could exhaust that subject. But we are not at the moment seeking unity for its own sake, but as a means to an end, that end being the fulfilment by the Church of its commission to bear witness for Christ in all parts of the world. It is therefore a conditional unity into which we are now inquiring; and inasmuch as the end is prior to the means, our first step must be to consider more closely the nature of this task which has been laid upon the Church. What did our Lord mean by commissioning the Church to be His witness?

I think the answer that would generally be given to that question in the present stage of our knowledge of the missionary problem would be that the task which has been prescribed is to lay in every part of the world the foundation of a Church which shall

be truly Catholic in the sense that the particular people among whom it is built shall find within it their self-realisation in Christ. The ultimate redeemed humanity is not to be an indeterminate mass from which all racial, or even national, characteristics have been abstracted: it is to be one—if the metaphor may be permitted—by the taking up of manhood, and all the characteristic *differentiæ* of manhood, into God. That, and not a colourless Pantheism, is what is meant by “the catholicity of Christ”. What we have to reckon with, therefore, is just those *differentiæ*; and the universal Church to which we look forward is not one that will obliterate them, but one that will even develop them, so that in it each one of them individually can grow up into the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ. This seems to be a fair deduction from the balance which St. John holds between collectivism and individualism in his apocalyptic vision of the new Jerusalem. It is to be a city-state in the sense which must have been familiar to him in Greece: but not only are the twelve tribes of Israel to retain their distinctive names, but each individual is to bear a distinctive name, albeit known only to himself and to the Lamb; and moreover the nations are to bring their honour and glory as their individual contribution to the new whole. Of that heavenly city-state the Church is to be the earthly counterpart, and as such it must somehow secure the self-realisation, and not the submergence, of the particular—whether individual or race—in the universal.

If, then, that is the ultimate goal to which we are to look forward, in however remote a future, two things seem to follow. First, the Christianity of which we are to be the witnesses is not to be a cast-iron uniformity—a bed of Procrustes to which the races of mankind are willy-nilly to be fitted. And second, our part—the part of the foreign missionary—is necessarily very restricted, though not on that account unimportant. We are familiar with the political maxim that good government is no adequate substitute for self-government, and with another which says that every country has the government which it deserves. What those maxims mean is that for every people that has reached a certain stage of development its government is its political self-realisation. Apply these familiar ideas to the Church, and you see that if it is to be the home of the spiritual self-realisation of the nation or the race, it cannot be imposed from without, but must in the last resort be developed from within. The function of the foreign missionary is then limited to the planting of the seed, which is to grow up into a particular species in its particular environment; or to laying well and truly the foundation-stone, and, it may be, *suggesting* the general plan, of the building whose detailed superstructure its future inhabitants are to design to meet their own particular requirements.

Now, that is not perhaps the view which has generally prevailed in the past, for the obvious reason that the immediate task before us in the past has been that of direct evangelisation. Direct evangelisation is the spade-work, and until a certain

amount of it had been done it was futile to think about Church-building. There is still a great deal to be done, for there remain vast unoccupied tracts in Africa, India, and China: but it is necessarily a diminishing task, and one, moreover, in which it is essential that the native Churches should be taught to take—and are at last beginning to take—their share. And in proportion as it diminishes, the task of Church-building increases in importance.

It appears to me, then, that if this latter is the aspect of the problem on which the greatest stress must now be laid, we can approach the question of unity from a different point of view and with better hopes of a solution. Obviously, if the object which is uppermost with me is the immediate conversion of the individual, and if I firmly believe that in order to his conversion he must hold certain doctrines and reject certain other doctrines, it is difficult, if not impossible, for me conscientiously to leave him to the tender mercies of another communion which does not hold and reject the same doctrines, and “whose very existence” I may, with the Bishop of Zanzibar, regard as “hostile to Christ’s holy Church”; and I cannot therefore agree to divide the field of operations with that other communion, or regard its converts otherwise than as being outside the pale. But if I am looking rather to the future than to the present, and if I am content to offer my own theology and institutions to the future Churches but to leave them to evolve their own, then it becomes very much easier to combine with other communions, provided, of course, that there is agreement on certain funda-

mentals, and that such combination does not prevent me in my own sphere from teaching in their fulness the doctrines which I hold to be necessary to salvation.

Now, is that a possible view? Can the Church of England acquiesce, and actually co-operate in, such a presentation, in neighbouring spheres, of various forms of the Christian faith differing from its own? The answer seems to depend upon the view which we take of the working of the Holy Spirit in the world to-day. Do we believe that He is still, as truly as in the days immediately succeeding Pentecost, taking of the things of Christ and showing them to the Church, and leading the Church into all the truth? and not the Church only, but the whole of mankind also? Do we believe, as we look back over human history in longish periods, that we see the Holy Spirit in it—God working his purpose out? I suppose we should all say that we do; but we often behave as if we did not. For example, is not the appeal to “primitive Christianity” often so interpreted as to suggest that for the last fifteen centuries the operation of the Holy Spirit has been suspended? And do not extreme views as to the Reformation—the Roman view that it was a schism and the Protestant view which glories in a complete wiping of the slate—involve a similar suggestion? We must, of course, admit that there have been times of ignorance which God has winked at, and we must always allow for human sin and error. But if we believe in the divine government of the world at all, is it possible to believe that for whole centuries after God has spoken by His Son whole nations and races of Christendom

have been left to wander in darkness? May it not be that the lesson of history since the Reformation is rather this, that we may confidently look for the working of the Holy Spirit not in one channel but in many—*non uno itinere perueniri ad tam grande secretum?* and for the test of His presence, not primarily in any *a priori* theological considerations, but *a posteriori* in the results that have been achieved? “By their fruits ye shall know them.” To look round the world to-day and, setting on one side the bodies which have maintained the Apostolic Succession in the technical sense, to deny the presence of God in the rest of the Christian world almost approaches (as the Bishop of Oxford has said) to blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; while to account for the religious experiences of the rest of Christendom over continents and through centuries by divine grace overflowing its appointed channels—is not this a *reductio ad absurdum* of the maxim that God is not bound by His Sacraments? At all events it is a view which leads straight away from unity.

The view which I prefer to put before you is that which I have already indicated—that God has appointed not one channel but more than one for the working of His Spirit and His grace; and if that be so then not only can no man venture to say what is the channel by which He has vouchsafed to operate in Asia or Africa—or that He has vouchsafed to operate by one channel only—but we are positively bound, not only not to obstruct, but actively to facilitate His operation by all such channels, in faith leaving the ultimate issue to Him.

But it will be asked, is not this perpetuating among the heathen our own unhappy divisions—the very thing which it is our object to avoid? The answer is at once Yes and No. In so far as those divisions really represent different aspects of Catholic truth which ought to be emphasised if that truth is to be presented in its completeness, and which are not so emphasised elsewhere, they are to be perpetuated: for nothing is to be extenuated. But on the other hand naught is to be set down in malice. What is “unhappy” about our divisions is not (if my premisses are correct) so much the fact of their existence, as the spirit of sinful uncharity and exclusiveness which caused them and by which they are at present animated. That spirit must be exorcised, and it can be exorcised for our purpose in the Mission field if the view which I have been trying to put before you can win acceptance, and if all parties are agreed as to certain fundamentals regarding which there can be no divisions. Those fundamentals I ask you to see in the provisions of the Lambeth Quadri-lateral of 1888, or at all events in the first three of them; for the fourth appears to me to stand upon a somewhat different footing, and to need separate and very careful treatment. Let me read them to you.

“That in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which an approach may be, by God’s blessing, made towards Home Reunion:—

(a) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as “containing all things necessary to

Salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(b) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol ; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(c) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(d) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

Now, as to the first three we of the Church of England can be in no doubt : it would be impossible for us to co-operate with any body which discarded the Scriptures as the ultimate proof of Christian doctrines, or which denied any one of the articles of the faith laid down in those creeds, or which set on one side those two Sacraments which beyond all doubt were ordained by Christ. But when we come to the historic episcopate, if by that expression is meant the Apostolic Succession by means of the historic episcopate, we enter a different region. It is clearly impossible for me to discuss this difficult question in detail this evening, even if I were qualified to do so. But inasmuch as it is the real crux, at the present moment, of the problem of reunion, something must be said about it, at least in its broadest aspects. Now first of all, what is meant when we are asked to believe that the episcopate belongs not merely to the *bene esse* but to the *esse* of the Church ? In talking

about these great subjects we sometimes use language without being conscious of its full import, and the import of that formula is very full indeed. What it really means is this: the Church is "the home of salvation"; that is not a Church which is not presided over by a bishop receiving his authority from above; therefore the episcopate is necessary to salvation. That is a tremendous proposition. "This is the doctrine of the historic episcopate which except a man hold faithfully, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly"—nay, is perishing daily, for the Sacrament upon which he depends for his life possesses no more validity, outside the Episcopal Church, than the Grail Scene of "Parsifal" upon the Covent Garden stage. I say that is a tremendous proposition.

Nor is its force materially weakened if for the idea of invalidity we substitute that of irregularity. The word "irregular" is, indeed, ambiguous. If it is used merely in the sense of "abnormal," and intends merely to convey the statement of fact that a non-episcopal ministry is a departure from what was for many centuries the universal practice of the Catholic Church—the fact is indisputable, but does not of itself carry us any farther. The maxim *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*—"that which ought not to have been done, when it has been done is valid"—is an old one, but it does not get away from the fundamental difficulty. For what is meant can only be one of two things, either the irregularly-ordained minister has authority (though he ought not to have it), or he has not. If he has authority, then the historic episcopate is not the only source of such authority.

If he has no authority, the Sacraments which he administers are invalid. So by either route we are led to the same result. The Sacraments must be either validly administered or invalidly, and if episcopal ordination is necessary to valid administration, then, in the absence of such ordination, they are simply invalid. And I repeat that that, in its full import, is a tremendous proposition. Nevertheless, we must believe it on the production of sufficient evidence that such was our Lord's express intention when He founded His Church, and that such was the deliberate intention of the apostles when they translated His commands into action. But it is such a tremendous proposition that I am entitled to require, not merely that it should be shown to be not inconsistent with the facts, but that the evidence in support of it should be overwhelming, and that it should be evidence that commands the assent not only of lawyers, and of "students in their pensive citadels," but of plain men dwelling in tents, the men whose salvation is at stake. And that is exactly what the evidence is not. I have just re-read the Bishop of Oxford's book "*Orders and Unity*," which is a most attractive and persuasive exposition of the case for the episcopacy, both as regards its divine institution and as regards its apostolic succession; and I can only say that it leaves me wholly unconvinced on that point. Just that link in the chain which should be strongest—the link between our Lord himself and the episcopate as it is found in the second century—appears to me to be the weakest; just where the evidence of intention should be clearest—in the

second half of the first century—it appears to me to be most ambiguous. On the essential point of all Clement of Rome in the first century has no more, but rather less, to tell us than Theodore of Mopsuestia in the fourth century.

But when once we are on the other side of the unbridged gap and are fairly started in the second century, the position is very different. Then we find the episcopate, in pretty much the form with which we are familiar with it, established in the east and spreading westwards; and from that time onwards until the Reformation practically unchallenged, though there are here and there traces of presbyterian consecration before the fifth century.

Now the conclusions I draw are two: (1) whether or not episcopacy is a divine institution, the evidence does not justify us in insisting that it is, when that insistence logically leads to such a tremendous consequence as the invalidity of all ministry of Word and Sacraments outside of it, with the other tremendous consequence that the faith of those who stand outside of it is vain—they are yet in their sins. (2) Whether or not episcopacy is a divine institution, it has the overwhelming presumption of fifteen centuries of universal and unhesitating acceptance in its favour as an organ of ecclesiastical government and a bond of external unity. But it commanded that acceptance because it corresponded to and met the needs of the Church, and the needs of the Church are different at different times and in different places, and correspond generally to the needs of the secular society in which it is planted. The medieval Church was the

true heir to the Roman Empire and emphasised its monarchical tendencies.¹ It is, I believe, more than an accident that it is precisely in countries where the influence of Roman imperialism was least strong, and in times when the spirit of democracy was beginning to assert itself, that we find most markedly some abatement of the extreme claims of the episcopal principle and the tendency to deny them altogether.

For our present purpose, therefore, I submit that the test of that principle is the test of experience—its suitability to its environment. The Church of England can hardly be expected to, and I trust never will, give it up for herself. But there may be countries and conditions for which it is, on its merits, not the best form of ecclesiastical government or bond of external unity. In such cases, its acceptance should not be imposed from without, nor made a condition *sine qua non* of co-operation between the Christian bodies. There will undoubtedly be other cases in which its overwhelming advantages are clearly indicated. In India, for example, the Bishop of Madras has pointed out the dangers to which the native Church will be exposed from the spirit of caste, in the absence of such “a powerful check upon strong tendencies to division” as the historic episcopate provides, and probably alone can provide. He quotes a Congregationalist missionary as saying: “The fact is that Congregationalism will not work in India; we European missionaries are all bishops in the Mission field”; and he remarks upon this that “as a matter

¹ L. Hahn, “Das Kaisertum,” chap. viii., and especially pp. 97-110.

of fact all missionary societies in India, to whatever denomination they belong, are practically worked in accordance with monarchical rather than democratic ideals. The district missionaries practically correspond to the bishops of the primitive Church." Clearly therefore here is a case in which the principle is not lightly to be abandoned. And in any circumstances a principle which has fifteen centuries of consistent experience behind it, and another four in which it has continued to justify itself to the vastly preponderant mass of Christendom, must be considered to have the strongest possible presumption in its favour. However liberal, therefore, our views of episcopacy may be, it is essential that we should be in no haste to sacrifice it even for the most obvious advantages of unity and co-operation.

Moreover, the proceedings of a "Congress on Union of Churches" in Australia last autumn revealed a distinct movement among the Free Churches in the direction of episcopacy in some form or another; and even here in England the discussion at the meeting of the Free Church Council the other day shows a willingness to listen to such a proposition which is at once new and hopeful. Even from the Protestant point of view, therefore, there is no case for premature concessions; while it is unnecessary to say that with such concessions the prospect of co-operation with Rome (however distant that prospect may in any case be) and with the Eastern Churches is relegated to an even dimmer distance.

The Lambeth Quadrilateral, then, with a *caveat* as to its fourth provision, is what I would suggest as

the basis of unity and co-operation in the Mission field. But I am conscious that in doing so I may appear to be inconsistent. For the Quadrilateral is in fact an appeal for unity based on a return to primitive Christianity, which I deprecated just now as involving a denial of the continued working of the Holy Spirit in the Church. But I was speaking then of the historic Churches; and at the beginning of this paper I was careful to guard myself by pointing out that what we are now discussing is not unity in itself, but the conditional unity which is necessary for practical purposes in the Mission field. It is difficult to exaggerate the difference between the two cases. Between the religious experience of the Christendom of to-day in the west and the middle east, and that of the primitive Church, lie fifteen centuries: but to understand the problems of the Mission field we have to forget those fifteen centuries and more, and try to reconstruct the religious experience of the sub-apostolic period. It is in fact the primitive Church itself which we have to deal with to-day in Asia and Africa—Churches which have yet to create their own religious experience, and on which we cannot with any hope of success impose our own—the product of an environment so widely different. There is therefore no inconsistency in requiring as the foundation of those Churches those articles of belief which form the lowest sub-stratum of our own, and trusting that the same Spirit will build the superstructure, different though that superstructure may be from anything that we now imagine—or possibly wish for.

The ideal of unity which I have been advocating is thus a kind of free federation of Churches accepting the Quadrilateral, or its first three provisions, each Church remaining within its agreed sphere of influence, and retaining within that sphere complete independence of doctrine and institutions, but admitting to its communion on equal terms members of other Churches temporarily or permanently resident in its sphere. Some such scheme, as we have been made painfully aware, is under consideration for East Africa; in India a committee of missionaries presided over by the Metropolitan has passed a series of resolutions in which these principles appear to be implicit. Similar movements are in progress in China and Japan; and, as I have said, the question for us at home is not so much What can we do to further them, as Are we going to allow ourselves to obstruct them?

A system of federation is indeed open to three criticisms. Two of them, as being mutually destructive, I will take together. The first is that the Christianity contemplated by it is purely undenominational. The second is that a federation based on the principle of agreeing to differ merely stereotypes the differences, i.e. it is denominationalism *in excelsis*. These criticisms, I say, are mutually destructive: they cannot both be true, and in fact neither is. Where each denomination is left free to teach its own doctrines in its own area there is no undenominationalism, but rather interdenominationalism. And where the foundation of the system is the avowal of agreement upon principles so vital and so far-reaching

as those of the Lambeth Quadrilateral the points of difference—though no good can come of minimising their importance—are seen in their proper perspective. The third criticism is that such a scheme gives the native convert a wholly inadequate conception of the Church. Now, the whole point of my remarks has been that the function of the foreign missionary is not to erect a Church, but merely to lay its foundation, and my argument is that the Quadrilateral supplies just such a foundation, upon which the people can and must eventually build their own Church. And if we can supply the foundation, and show that we are all agreed as to what it must be, then I submit that, while retaining the right to exhibit each our own design of what we should like the superstructure to be, it is our duty to leave the task of selecting and rejecting or modifying the design to those to whom it is to be the home of salvation. I have tried to show theoretical reasons for these views. That there are strong practical reasons to the same effect must be patent to anyone who considers the present state of the Mission field. Everywhere we see in the occupied areas competition and overlapping and consequent waste of strength and money, when more than all the strength and money that can be furnished is needed to meet the growing demands in the occupied areas and to press on into the unoccupied. Of the disastrous example of unfraternity set to the native Churches I need not speak. But what is perhaps most impressive at the present moment is the gathering, throughout the world, of the forces that make against Christianity. Panislam has long

been a growing danger, and the result of the Balkan war has undoubtedly and naturally been to intensify Moslem hatred and suspicion of Christian religion and policy. In India a kind of renaissance is in progress which though not necessarily anti-Christian at present may easily be turned into anti-Christian channels if it is not wisely handled. In China the restoration of Confucianism as the official religion is a disappointing sign of the times. And in proportion to the dangers are the opportunities. These practical considerations will partly justify what may have seemed to some a strange omission from my remarks, viz. mention of the position of the Anglican Communion *vis à vis* of Rome in this connection. Reconciliation with Rome would be, from my personal standpoint, the most desirable of all eventualities. But I am convinced that it is impossible on any terms that the Church of England could accept, within any future which we can foresee. It is altogether outside the range of practical politics, and I have therefore taken no account of it. But, as I have said, the dangers and the opportunities in the Mission field are pressing. We cannot afford to wait for Rome: we must seek allies where they are to be found. Pan-protestantism may not be a thing that some of us can love: but Pantheism and Panislam are what we must all fear. Nor must we forget two things—first, that for Rome Panprotestantism exists already: we are all tarred with the same brush. In the eyes of Rome, as Father Vaughan has told us, we can never—not even the “highest” of us—be anything but “Protestants masquerading as Catholics”. And

second, if Protestantism ever establishes a claim to universality, it becomes *pro tanto* Catholic. We may not like the prospect: but this is not a question of likes and dislikes. Immeasurable issues are at stake, and we must not allow ourselves to prejudge them. Consider a few figures. In India there were in 1911 some 3,500,000 native Christians, of whom roughly 1,000,000 were Protestant and 1,800,000 Roman Catholic (including Syrians in communion with Rome), while Anglicans numbered 333,000. During the previous twenty years the total Christian population had increased by 70 per cent.—Protestants by 170 per cent., Anglicans by 72 per cent., and Roman Catholics by 45 per cent. Those who delight in forecasts may easily calculate how long it will be before Protestants will outnumber Catholics, and what will be the proportion of Anglicans to the total. But prophecy is the most gratuitous form of error, and we need not indulge in it when the actual figures are so remarkable—when we see that in twenty years the progress of Protestantism has been actually more than twice as rapid as that of any form of Catholicism.¹ And whatever other conclusions we may draw from the fact, let it suffice to teach us that the situation as we find it must be dealt with on its merits, and not on the basis of *a priori* conceptions.

One word in conclusion. It may be that from unity and co-operation in the Mission field some-

¹ The mass movements of the last ten years are indeed likely to upset anticipations based on previous figures, but it does not seem probable that they will cause the scale to incline more deeply towards Catholicism.

thing may be gained towards the promotion of unity at home. It may be—for it is a common experience in secular affairs that men arrive at agreements and alliances, not by crying “let us swear an eternal friendship,” not even by sitting round a table and discussing abstract propositions, but rather by temporarily coming together for the solution of some particular concrete problem. It is in that way that they learn to appreciate one another’s principles and to distinguish between what is essential and what is non-essential in their own. So it may be in religious matters—but unity at home is a long way ahead, farther ahead than any of us can see; and when the time comes it by no means follows that what may be legitimate as a basis of unity abroad—where the foundations of the Church have to be laid—will be legitimate as a basis at home where we have a fabric that has already been nineteen centuries in the building. Meanwhile, we have out there a task which might well seem to lie beyond the reach of the combined forces of Christendom: let us see that we do not fall short of it through any avoidable—still less through any wilful—lack of combination.

NOTE (ON PAPER VI.).

WHEN this paper was written the Kikuyu controversy was engaging attention, and since then a good deal of water has flowed under the bridges—so much, that its publication now may seem to savour of that most gratuitous of occupations, the forcing of an open door. Nevertheless it has been allowed to stand without material alteration in the hope that it may, in some quarters which have not yet been reached, help to prepare the ground for a forward move towards the restoration of unity. That it is crude in thought and expression is obvious; but its crudity, which will shock the professional theologian, is intentional. For it is an attempt to resolve the problem into its simplest elements—to state the practical issues of some theological theories—and practical issues have a way of being crude. Sooner or later the bed-rock of Yes or No is reached; and between Yes and No there is no half-way house. To assert a proposition is to deny its contrary—a truth which can hardly be too often repeated in a generation which, not only in theology but also in other spheres of thought and action, too often forgets it.

To three events of the present year bearing upon the subject of the paper particular attention must now be drawn.

(1) The publication of the volume of "Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry" edited by the late Dr. Swete (Macmillan, 1918). In these essays by "well-known theologians from each of our older Universities," the whole ground of the episcopate and the

apostolic succession is historically investigated—with a view not to proving a case but to establishing the facts; and the reader may draw his own conclusions, and apply the results for himself to modern instances. No treatment of these subjects hereafter will be of any value which does not take account of these essays. The results are too important and too numerous to be summarised here. But there are three points bearing on the subject of this paper which seem to emerge.

(a) The history of the early episcopate is left where Lightfoot left it. "Subsequent research or discovery has left his position as strong as ever . . . we can hardly say that new facts have come to light which require that his interpretation should be modified."¹ Now Lightfoot claimed to have proved no more—in fact he expressly disclaimed having proved more—than the truth of the statement in the preface to the Church of England Ordinal that, "from the Apostles' time there were these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons". It is thus the fact of Episcopacy and not any theory as to its character that is established.

(b) While the evidence does not justify any definite conclusion on the origin of the episcopate in its first intention, its development as an institution, and the development of theories as to its nature, implications, and consequences, have been dictated by the circumstances and requirements of the Church as they arose at various periods. The principle was preserved intact, but it was very variously applied in an age when the conditions of a still growing Church made adaptability and elasticity essential to life. Thus we have not only continuity but also a true evolution. The Body of Christ is a living body, not a dead body—an organism, not a machine;

¹ Dr. Armitage Robinson, p. 90.

and the condition of survival of any organism or institution—whether it be an ichthyosaurus or a House of Lords—is adaptability to its environment. As Dr. Swete most wisely says: “The fetish of primitiveness is scarcely less to be deprecated than the fetish of mediævalism; neither the primitive nor the mediæval life, if torn away from its original surroundings and transferred to a soil where the conditions are alien from those in which it grew up, is likely to thrive or bear good fruit. Each age of the Church must live its own life, and deal with its own problems, following to a great extent the lead of circumstances, which offer in fact a Divine guidance for the shaping of its course.”¹ Moreover, in appreciating the idea which lies behind the episcopate we have to beware of a danger which Goethe remarked in connection with ideas in general: “Every great idea, as soon as it has been manifested, operates tyrannically: therefore the advantages which it produces only too quickly turn to disadvantages. Thus any institution can be defended and praised if its origins are recalled and it can be shown that all that was originally true of it is still true now.”

(c) The conditions of the primitive Church present little analogy in detail with those that face us now. But one phenomenon appears to be common—that in both cases it is a growing Church that is in question. To meet the requirements of growth we are justified by primitive example in making new applications of the old principles. It is true, as Dr. Swete observes, that “the unique position of the Christian Society, as a continuous and progressive organisation under the direction of the Spirit of Christ, gives special importance to principles and institutions which, taking their beginnings in primitive times, were accepted by the whole Church, or by the

¹ Preface, p. xvi.

Church in the West, down to the sixteenth century. To abandon these would be to sacrifice historical continuity, and to cast doubt on the presence in the Church of the Holy Spirit, Who came to guide the Body of Christ into all truth."¹ But though the principle of the episcopate stands for unity, "this is not to say that a particular doctrine of the Apostolic Succession must needs be held by all Christians alike,"² nor have we other evidence than that of experience to compel its acceptance as the only possible guarantee of unity. The weight of this evidence in its favour is, indeed, overwhelming: but the principle itself is not exempt from the common lot of universals—it stands in danger of a negative instance. And that being so, the stringency of its enforcement upon new communities as a *conditio sine qua non* must be qualified by the general obligation of charity and by a wise estimation of particular cases.

(2) The second of the significant events referred to above is the publication of the second Interim Report, dated March, 1918, of a Sub-Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York's Committee and by representatives of the English Free Churches' Commissions, in connection with the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. This document is so important both in itself and as a sign of the times that I have reprinted it *in extenso* in an appendix,³ hoping that it may meet the eye of some who might not otherwise have seen it. No comment on it is necessary.

(3) The realisation of the hope of reunion, which the Sub-Committee's Report encourages, belongs to the future. But in the meantime an immediate forward step has been taken by the adoption of a constitution of

¹ Preface, p. xvii.

² Dr. Armitage Robinson *ap.* Swete, p. 92.

³ Appendix A, p. 116.

alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa at the United Conference of missionaries held at Kikuyu, July 26, 1918. Extracts from this constitution, bearing on the subject of the foregoing paper, are printed in an appendix.¹ While it may be regretted that it should have been found necessary thus to force the pace locally, it is a matter of gratitude that there were men who were determined that something should be done. The agreement which has been arrived at follows the main lines of the earlier agreement, which was the subject of such fierce and unseemly controversy. But important modifications have been made to meet the criticisms of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the result seems to be a wholly innocuous constitution, in which the position of the Church of England is most carefully safeguarded. It will be observed that the Conference of Missionaries, agreeing with the Sub-Committee on Faith and Order, recognise that any measure of unity falling short of full intercommunion is incomplete, but admit that "in existing conditions, such intercommunion between episcopal and non-episcopal Missions is not yet possible". The bishops therefore cannot "bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained". But they do not forbid, and it is expressly provided that "the responsible authorities of the Allied Missions will welcome as guests to their Communion any communicant members of the Allied Missions for whom the ministrations of his own Church are for the time inaccessible and as to whose moral and spiritual fitness they are satisfied". I have dwelt on this one point, not only because the Holy Communion is necessarily the pledge and consummation of unity, but also because it seems to me (for reasons already hinted at in paper III.,

¹ Appendix B, p. 123.

p. 45) to be of the very essence of the evangelising Church, and therefore *par excellence* the inspiration of the missionary. On this ground, if on no other, they are justified who desire to restore it to its place as the principal service of the day—provided always that we remember (what this aspect of it should help us to remember) that, just as the common meal is meaningless without the Sacrifice, so the Sacrifice is incomplete without the common meal.¹ So important is this aspect of the Holy Communion that I make no apology for quoting a somewhat lengthy passage from one of the beautiful addresses given by two members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta at a Students' Conference of the Syrian Christian Church, which have recently been published under the title of "The Eucharistic Life" (Longmans, 1918): "Through the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ which is offered to God becomes extended, i.e. it embraces the sacrifice of more people. Let me try to make this clear. On Good Friday when Christ's Sacrifice became, as in a true sense it did, complete on the Cross, . . . it was the offering of Christ Himself alone, and no other members of the race shared in it. But since the time that our Lord began to impart His ascended human life to His disciples until this day, His offering has included the offering of more and more disciples who, through the power of His life, have been able to offer themselves wholeheartedly to God. Think what is included now in the Sacrifice of Christ which is offered in the Eucharist all over the world. It includes the perfect self-oblation of all the Saints in heaven—already 'a great multitude which no man could number out of every nation, and of all tribes, and peoples, and tongues'. It includes the

¹ The Roman Knights of the Blessed Sacrament, to whom reference has already been made, pledge themselves "to be at least weekly communicants and to promote daily communion".

offerings of all the members of the Church in Purgatory, who are gradually realising what living for Christ means, and are coming to do it more and more perfectly. It includes also the self-oblation of all Christ's faithful disciples on earth who, amid much temptation and many failures, are trying to live for Him. And as year succeeds year Christ's Sacrifice becomes more and more extended, more and more people give themselves to His service here, and then pass into the next world where they learn quickly, we may be sure, how to make their offering perfect. Thus gradually Christ works His way, as men will let Him, towards the final consummation to which the whole Church looks forward when His Sacrifice will be complete, i.e. when it will include the whole redeemed race of man; when all who were opposed to Him shall have been subdued by His love, when death, the last enemy, shall be abolished. Then the whole purpose of God for man, for which He sent His Son to suffer and to die, will be accomplished. Then Christ our Saviour will see the whole result of the travail of His soul, and will be satisfied. Then He, who on Good Friday committed Himself alone, as the first-fruits of Humanity, into His Father's hands, will deliver up the whole Kingdom, the whole redeemed race with Himself as its Head, to God, even the Father, 'That God may be all and in all' (see 1 Corinthians xv. 20-28). That will be the final, perfect Eucharist, the joyous and altogether loving sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving of the whole race". If all communicants had this vividly present in their minds at the Communion I cannot help thinking that our spiritual vision would be greatly widened and the Kingdom of God much advanced.

It is to be hoped that the home authorities will speedily ratify the Kikuyu agreement, and the course of the experiment will be watched with deep interest.

VII.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE progress of the war has brought the dream of a League of Nations within measurable distance of fulfilment; and when every allowance has been made for the difficulties, which are real and must be squarely faced, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is now universal agreement among men of goodwill that only its realisation affords a reasonable hope of refounding society and (to use a happy phrase of Mr. T. R. Glover's) finding anew "a base from which the soul can make all its own again".

In his speech of October 10, 1918, Viscount Grey has suggested that the League may also serve the interests of the more loosely-organised, more backward, and weaker peoples. Of these peoples some of the most important are non-Christian, and there is more that we can and ought to do for them than help them to develop their resources, organise their customs, and train their police. Is it too much to hope that the secular League of Nations may find a spiritual counterpart in an international league of Churches for the better accomplishment of the Church's mission—to enable the nations to bring their "honour and glory" into the Kingdom of God?

The view which has been put forward in paper III.—that the vocation of Great Britain is to christianise the British Empire—does not imply any want of appreciation of the work done by Missions of foreign nationality. Indeed, it would be difficult to overestimate the services rendered to India, for example, by American Societies—not indeed by Missions of the Episcopal Church, which has shown itself singularly and lamentably backward in this respect, but by those of other bodies which for upwards of a century have worked there devotedly and most successfully. Nor does the view that it is the especial vocation of every Christian people to christianise the peoples which, under the Divine Providence, have come within its sphere of influence, derogate in the least from the universality of the Body of Christ. But just as the divisions of British Christianity have hindered the advancement of the Kingdom of God and weakened the Church's witness, so it would seem that the co-existence in any single field of Missions of many nationalities, and still more their feuds and cross purposes and overlapping, must have the same effect on a scale even more disastrously large. An international league of churches, reviewing the whole mission field, mapping out spheres of activity with due recognition of the primary duty of nations towards their own subjects, and not necessarily excluding, but at all events correlating, the work of others within those spheres, would, it is suggested, at the same time emphasise the universality of the Church and strengthen the sense of national vocation; while the churches of those

countries which have no foreign possessions would naturally see in the independent non-Christian areas their main theatre of operations. And apart from the practical advantages of unity of policy, such a combined witness for Christ might well have a moral effect in the world that would surpass all our imaginings.

Lord Grey pointed out that anything like a League of Nations was impossible in the past because of "the jealousy the stronger States have of one another, and the fear of the weaker nations that it is going to admit political influence and weaken independence". For the same reason a league of Churches would have been impossible, because Christian Missions have been suspected of exercising, and have in fact exercised, political influence. But the idea lying behind the League of Nations is no longer primarily a political idea, but a moral idea: it presupposes a determination to suppress these jealousies and to substitute co-operation for exploitation, and brotherhood for cut-throat competition. And if such an ideal commands acceptance in the world, can the Church lag behind?

Of course there are difficulties. Two, which lie on the threshold, may be mentioned here. First, it is more than possible that the independent non-Christian nations will regard a league of Churches with some suspicion. Two conditions are therefore essential. (a) While the existence of the League of Nations should of itself remove all real ground for such suspicion, and while any non-Christian nation that considered itself aggrieved by any missionary

action would seek and receive redress from the League of Nations, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a complete divorce between missions and politics. (b) Again, it is absolutely necessary that western Christianity should begin at once to divest itself of its foreign trappings, relinquish at the earliest possible date the support of foreign money and the foreign missionary, and, becoming really indigenous, identify itself with and consecrate all that is best in the aspirations and ideals of the peoples to whom it would commend itself. This point need not be further elaborated, for it has been the purpose of the foregoing pages to inculcate it.¹ But it may be added that the indigenous churches, when they have attained sufficient maturity, should themselves be members of the League.

The second difficulty is the *non possumus* attitude towards co-operation hitherto adopted by the Church of Rome. A league of Churches without Rome must needs appear quite ludicrously *manquée*. But we must take things as we find them. If Rome continues to hold back we need not complain. "A recent writer suggests that we may find in the Gospel of St. John a parable foreshadowing the relation of papal authority to the advance guard of religious thought. St. John outran St. Peter when both were in quest of the evidence of the Resurrection, yet St. Peter reached their destination in due time. The pages of ecclesiastical history continually

¹ On the importance of nationality see Mr. J. H. Oldham's review of Mr. A. E. Zimmermann's "Nationality and Government," in "International Review of Missions," October, 1918, pp. 532-5.

re-suggest the analogy. The representative of the Church on earth again and again is left behind by the saint who has lived hourly with Christ, by the mystic whose testimony is not easy to understand. But the goal is ever the same for both. The survival of the Church as a visible reality when all other institutions crumble and give way before the pressure of outward change, is in itself a proof that the vital energy of her true sons and daughters is drawn from her, even when she appears to have disowned them." ¹ But in the meantime the rest of us must move along the line of least resistance. The Conference of Missionary Societies in this country (if the Church of England as such were represented on it through the Central Board of Missions) and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America—between which two bodies close and fraternal relations already exist—may well afford a starting-point.

Feast of St. Luke, 1918.

¹ A. K. H., "Angélique of Port Royal," p. xxvi.

APPENDIX A.

TOWARDS CHRISTIAN UNITY.

Second Interim Report of a Sub-Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York's Committee and by Representatives of the English Free Churches' Commissions, in connection with the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order.

A MOVEMENT has been initiated in America by the Protestant Episcopal Church, which has been widely taken up by the Christian Churches in the United States, to prepare for a world-wide conference on Faith and Order with the view of promoting the visible unity of the Body of Christ on earth. In response to an appeal from those who are co-operating in America a committee was appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and commissions by the Free Churches to promote the same movement in England.

This Joint Conference has already issued a First Interim Report prepared by a Joint Sub-Committee, consisting of: (1) A Statement of agreement on matters of Faith; (2) A Statement of agreement on matters relating to Order; (3) A Statement of differences in relation to matters of Order which require further study and discussion.

In further pursuit of the main purpose the Sub-Committee was re-appointed and enlarged. After mature

and prolonged consideration it is hereby issuing its Second Interim Report under the direction of the Conference as a whole, but on the understanding that the members of the Sub-Committee alone are to be held responsible for the substance of the document.

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In issuing our Second Interim Report we desire to prevent possible misconceptions regarding our intentions. We are engaged, not in formulating any basis of reunion for Christendom, but in preparing for the consideration of such a basis at the projected Conference on Faith and Order. We are exploring the ground in order to discover the ways of approach to the questions to be considered that seem most promising and hopeful. In our first Report we were not attempting to draw up a creed for subscription, but desired to affirm our agreement upon certain foundation truths as the basis of a spiritual and rational creed and life for all mankind in Christ Jesus the Lord. It was a matter of profound gratitude to God that we found ourselves so far in agreement. No less grateful were we that even as regards matters relating to Order we were able to hold certain common convictions, though in regard to these we were forced to recognise differences of interpretation. We felt deeply, however, that we could not let the matter rest there; but that we must in conference seek to understand one another better, in order to discover if even on the questions on which we seemed to differ most we might not come nearer to one another.

I. In all our discussions we were guided by two convictions from which we could not escape, and would not, if we could.

It is the purpose of our Lord that believers in Him should be one visible society, and this unity is

essential to the purpose of Christ for His Church and for its effective witness and work in the world. The conflict among Christian nations has brought home to us with a greater poignancy the disastrous results of the divisions which prevail among Christians, inasmuch as they have hindered that growth of mutual understanding which it should be the function of the Church to foster, and because a Church which is itself divided cannot speak effectively to a divided world.

The visible unity of believers which answers to our Lord's purpose must have its source and sanction, not in any human arrangements, but in the will of the One Father, manifested in the Son, and effected through the operation of the Spirit; and it must express and maintain the fellowship of His people with one another in Him. Thus the visible unity of the Body of Christ is not adequately expressed in the co-operation of the Christian Churches for moral influence and social service, though such co-operation might with great advantage be carried much further than it is at present; it could only be fully realised through community of worship, faith and order, including common participation in the Lord's Supper. This would be quite compatible with a rich diversity in life and worship.

2. In suggesting the conditions under which this visible unity might be realised we desire to set aside for the present the abstract discussion of the origin of the Episcopate historically, or its authority doctrinally; and to secure for that discussion when it comes, as it must come, at the Conference, an atmosphere congenial not to controversy, but to agreement. This can be done only by facing the actual-situation in order to discover if any practical proposals could be made that would bring the

Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Communions nearer to one another. Further, the proposals are offered not as a basis for immediate action, but for the sympathetic and generous consideration of all the Churches.

The first fact which we agree to acknowledge is that the position of Episcopacy in the greater part of Christendom as the recognised organ of the unity and continuity of the Church, is such that the members of the Episcopal Churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion.

The second fact which we agree to acknowledge is that there are a number of Christian Churches not accepting the Episcopal order which have been used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners, and perfecting saints. They came into being through reaction from grave abuses in the Church at the time of their origin, and were led in response to fresh apprehensions of divine truth to give expression to certain types of Christian experience, aspiration and fellowship, and to secure rights of the Christian people which had been neglected or denied.

In view of these two facts, if the visible unity so much desired within the Church, and so necessary for the testimony and influence of the Church in the world is ever to be realised, it is imperative that the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Communions shall approach one another not by the method of human compromise, but in correspondence with God's own way of reconciling differences in Christ Jesus. What we desire to see is not grudging concession, but a willing acceptance for the common enrichment of the united Church of the wealth distinctive of each.

Looking as frankly and as widely as possible at the whole situation, we desire with a due sense of responsibility to submit for the serious consideration of all the parts of a divided Christendom what seem to us the necessary conditions of any possibility of reunion :—

1. That continuity with the historic Episcopate should be effectively preserved.

2. That in order that the rights and responsibilities of the whole Christian community in the government of the Church may be adequately recognised, the Episcopate should re-assume a constitutional form, both as regards the method of the election of the bishop as by clergy and people, and the method of government after election. It is perhaps necessary that we should call to mind that such was the primitive ideal and practice of Episcopacy and it so remains in many Episcopal Communion to-day.

3. That acceptance of the fact of Episcopacy and not any theory as to its character should be all that is asked for. We think that this may be the more easily taken for granted as the acceptance of any such theory is not now required of ministers of the Church of England. It would no doubt be necessary before any arrangement for corporate reunion could be made to discuss the exact functions which it may be agreed to recognise as belonging to the Episcopate, but we think this can be left to the future.

The acceptance of Episcopacy on these terms should not involve any Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, but should enable all to maintain the continuity of their witness and influence as heirs and trustees of types of Christian thought, life and order, not only of value to themselves but of value to the Church as a whole. Accordingly we hope and desire that each of

these Communion would bring its own distinctive contribution, not only to the common life of the Church, but also to its methods of organisation, and that all that is true in the experience and testimony of the uniting Communion would be conserved to the Church. Within such a recovered unity we should agree in claiming that the legitimate freedom of prophetic ministry should be carefully preserved; and in anticipating that many customs and institutions which have been developed in separate communities may be preserved within the larger unity of which they have come to form a part.

We have carefully avoided any discussion of the merits of any polity, or any advocacy of one form in preference to another. All we have attempted is to show how reunion might be brought about, the conditions of the existing Churches and the convictions held regarding these questions by their members being what they are. As we are persuaded that it is on these lines and these alone that the subject can be approached with any prospect of any measure of agreement, we do earnestly ask the members of the Churches to which we belong to examine carefully our conclusions and the facts on which they are based, and to give them all the weight that they deserve.

In putting forward these proposals we do so because it must be felt by all good-hearted Christians as an intolerable burden to find themselves permanently separated in respect of religious worship and communion from those in whose characters and lives they recognise the surest evidences of the indwelling Spirit; and because, as becomes increasingly evident, it is only as a body, praying, taking counsel, and acting together, that the Church can hope to appeal to men as the Body of Christ, that is Christ's visible organ and instrument in the world, in

which the Spirit of brotherhood and of love as wide as humanity finds effective expression.

(Signed) G. W. BATH : and WELL : (*Chairman*).

E. WINTON :

C. OXON :

W. T. DAVISON.

A. E. GARVIE.

H. L. GOUDGE.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

W. B. SELBIE.

J. H. SHAKESPEARE.

EUGENE STOCK.

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

TISSINGTON TATLOW (*Hon. Sec.*).

H. G. WOOD.

March, 1918.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF ALLIANCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

*Adopted at the United Conference of Missionaries at
Kikuyu, July 26, 1918.*

I. PREAMBLE.

THE following Societies now working in the British East Africa Protectorate, namely, Church Missionary Society, Church of Scotland Mission, Africa Inland Mission, and United Methodist Church Mission, recognise the divine purpose of unity among Christians and look forward to the establishment of a United Church within the Protectorate. In the meantime, they resolve to form an Alliance by the adoption of the subjoined Constitution, which is hereby approved and accepted by the Allied Societies concerned, with a view to moving along agreed lines of action appropriate to each Society, so as to prepare the way for further organic unity.

SECTION I. MUTUAL RELATION AND AIMS OF THE ALLIED SOCIETIES.

An Alliance of Societies is hereby formed who agree:—

I. To respect one another's spheres, as set out in a map which a duly authorised representative of each of the Allied Societies shall sign as an acknowledgement of the assent of each such Society to the Alliance (provided

that nothing in this Constitution shall be so understood as to prejudice the Episcopal or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the local Church authorities in any of the Allied Societies over all the members of their own Communion).

(a) Any Missionary shall be free to visit and minister to members of his own Church living in the sphere of an Allied Society, provided that he shall first intimate his intention of so doing to the local representative of the Society occupying that sphere.

(b) All missionary work within a district shall be under the jurisdiction of the Society responsible for that district.

2. To respect the autonomy of each Allied Society within its own sphere.

3. To foster the desire for union, and by every possible means to prepare the minds of all Christians for early union.

4. To develop the local church organisations along similar lines of District and Parochial Councils.

5. To recognise the status (see notes) of every Christian which is assigned to him by the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs.

Note (a) This refers to the position of a catechumen or of a baptised or communicant member of some branch of the Church of Christ in connection with the Allied Societies.

Note (b) While earnestly desiring such a measure of unity that full intercommunion between the members of the Allied Missions may become possible, we recognise that in existing conditions, such intercommunion between Episcopal and non-Episcopal Missions is not yet possible.

Note (c) The Bishops of the two Dioceses concerned in the Alliance realise the dangers to which

native converts are exposed through isolation. They deeply regret that it is impossible in the present circumstances to bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained. But they will be grateful for such spiritual help as it may be possible for other Missions to give to those who may be for the time isolated from the ministrations of their own Church.

Note (d) The responsible authorities of the Allied Missions will welcome as guests to their Communion any communicant members of the Allied Missions for whom the ministrations of his own Church are for the time inaccessible, and as to whose moral and spiritual fitness they are satisfied, provided always that no obligation shall rest on any such member to avail himself of this liberty.

6. To discourage proselytising.

7. To respect the decision, in all cases of discipline, made concerning their own members by the respective Allied Society.

SECTION II. BASIS OF ALLIANCE.

1. The basis of alliance shall consist in :—

(a) The loyal acceptance of Holy Scripture as our supreme rule of Faith and Practice; and of the Apostle's and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief; and in particular of belief in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God, in the Deity of Jesus Christ, and in the atoning death of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of our forgiveness.

(b) The regular administration of the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by the outward signs as commanded by Christ.

2. Those Societies only shall be eligible for membership in the Alliance which accept all the Constitution of the Alliance, which are governed by recognised Committees of Missionary Societies, or Churches, and whose property is vested in Trustees.

3. No change shall be made in any section of this Constitution, except at the request of the Representative Council, and with the consent of all the Allied Societies.

SECTION III. REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL.

1. There shall be formed a Representative Council to which each of the Allied Societies shall send representatives. . . .

2. The Council, except as provided in this Constitution, shall be wholly advisory, and shall exercise no control over the Allied Societies or Churches.

3. The duties of the Council shall be :—

(a) To make recommendations to the Allied Societies for the furtherance of the objects of the Alliance and from time to time to frame and amend with the consent of all the Allied Societies any regulations which they find necessary to these objects.

(b) To consider and advise upon any question of Mission spheres or districts, or any other matters concerning mutual relations of the Allied Societies. In the event of any difference of opinion on any question falling within the jurisdiction of the Council as above defined, the Council shall have power, if they see fit, to make representations on that question to the governing authorities of the Allied Societies concerned.

(c) To take action without delay to secure the co-

operation of African Christians in the work of the Council.

SECTION IV. METHODS TO BE ADOPTED BY EACH
ALLIED SOCIETY WITHIN ITS OWN SPHERE.

1. Admission to the catechumenate shall be by public profession and a minimum course of instructions approved by the Representative Council as to its duration and general sufficiency shall be required before Baptism.

2. Those baptised in infancy shall pass through a course of instruction similar to that which is required of adult candidates for Baptism before being admitted to the Lord's Supper.

B. Sacraments.

1. The administration of the Sacraments shall be by recognised Ministers of the branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district; provided that, in cases of urgent necessity and in the absence of a Minister, any Layman may administer Baptism.

2. The Sacrament of Baptism, either by affusion or by immersion and either to infants or adults, shall be administered according to the usage of the branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district, and such Baptism shall be recognised by all members of all the Allied Societies.

3. In Baptism, water and the form, "I baptise thee in (into) the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," shall be used.

4. No person living in polygamy shall be baptised.

5. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered to anyone who is not qualified to be a communicant in the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs.

C. Ministry.

In the future each candidate for the native ministry to be ordained within the sphere of the Alliance shall:—

1. Pass through a prescribed course of instruction.
2. Subscribe to the Basis of Alliance, Section II. 1 (a) and (b).
3. Be duly set apart by the lawful authority of the Church to which he belongs with laying on of hands.

Addendum.

In setting our hands to the foregoing Constitution, we, the representatives of the Allied Societies desire wholeheartedly to associate ourselves with the following Resolution unanimously passed by the United Conference of Missionary Societies met at Kikuyu, July 23 to 26, 1918:—

We, being profoundly convinced, for the sake of our Common Lord and of those African Christians to whom our controversies are as yet unknown, of the need for a United Church in British East Africa, earnestly entreat the Home Authorities to take such steps as may be necessary, in consultation with the Churches concerned, to remove the difficulties which at present make this ideal impossible.

In the meantime it adopts the Basis of Alliance not as the ideal, but as the utmost possible in view of our present unhappy divisions. And the members of the Alliance pledge themselves not to rest until they can all share one Ministry.

BV Hirtzel, Sir Frederic Arthur, 1870-1937.
2500 The church, the empire, and the world:
H5 addresses, on the work of the church ab
London, Society for Promoting Christian
Knowledge; New York, Macmillan, 1919.
 xiii, 128p. 20cm.

1. Church of England--Missions--Addre
essays, lectures. I. Title.

CCSC/:

A22488

